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India -- Politics as Usual

Henry Stanley

The Steel Crisis

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Appeasement in the CBC

R. B. Tolbridge

Uncle Sam Wades In

Samuel Levenson

The Case of Mr. Ojibway

Kathleen Coburn

Distribution of Income in Canada

Eugene Forsey

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Yet a Little While

THERE IS no use blinking the fact. The most depressing news of the past month was Mr. Churchill's speech, with its uncompromising attitude toward India and its revelation that his trip to Moscow had not resulted in that complete accord with Premier Stalin on United Nations strategy which we had been led to infer. It did nothing to dispel the uneasy feeling that the right course is not being taken to win India's full coöperation, and that a vulnerable spot, morally and physically, in the democratic armor is being made more vulnerable. As for allied strategy, the declaration of British-American agreement did not salve the sting of disappointment over the inference that a European invasion is not immediately pending. Liberal papers across the line are beginning to ask, "Is this an Anglo-American war?" With the heroic and agonizing spectacle of Russia's resistance at Stalin-grad unfolding before our eyes, it is impossible not to sympathize with Stalin's apparent inability to understand why the British and American leaders seemingly found it inadvisable to open a European front now.

Yet nobody wants to jeopardize the whole outcome of the war by premature moves, any more than to risk it by over caution. Walter Nash of New Zealand has taken occasion to stress President Roosevelt's reminder that the United Nations are already operating on several fronts, all of them vital, and to point out what everyone knows, that it would be disastrous to court a second Dunkirk. All that those of us who perforce lack complete knowledge of the complex situation can do, is to trust to the wisdom and honesty of those at the top. But if it should turn out that there has been either an error of judgment or bad faith, these leaders will have a terrible indictment to answer to in the court of history.

Canada has a special interest, inasmuch as her troops are bound to be in the forefront of any assaults on the Germans in western Europe. Already she has paid a terrible price at Dieppe in

what seemed to be the inauguration of a planned series of operations in that quarter. But the weeks have gone by, and it is hard to avoid asking ourselves whether the objectives intended to be achieved at Dieppe were commensurate with the heavy toll exacted. Canadians have bitter memories of Passchendaele, as it has been revealed in the light of history. On September 23 the BBC broadcast to Frenchmen that a United Nations offensive aimed at the "annihilation of Hitlerite Germany" is being prepared and will be launched without warning, and that they will be told when the moment comes for their coöperation. Is this just part of the war of nerves which the United Nations are waging as an alternative to action, or does it really portend an early surprise move which will change the whole course of the war this autumn? We can only wait and see.

Canadianizing the RCAF

HON. C. G. POWER and Air Marshal Harold Edwards are to be congratulated on their fight to consolidate members of the RCAF in all-Canadian formations overseas. The *Globe and Mail* and the *Montreal Gazette*, scenting a diabolical plot to undermine the empire, have been accusing Major Power of being an "isolationist" for even making such a proposal. When Air Marshal Edwards, in an off-the-record statement to visiting Canadian editors, declared: "I have fought for that cause because I believe it is the best possible policy for the men I represent," he received the expected slap on the wrist from Toronto's gold-mining organ. But it is surprising to find the Dominion President of the Canadian Corps Association joining in the attempt to make a political issue out of the move. For, apart from the impropriety of Col. Reynolds involving his organization in a partisan squabble concerning another branch of the service, that organization owes its very name and existence to a similar stand taken by a cabinet minister in the last war. Here is how the Official History of the Canadian Forces in

the Great War records the clash between Sir Sam Hughes and Lord Kitchener:

Sir Sam marched up to Kitchener's desk. When he arrived at the desk Kitchener spoke up quickly and in a very stern voice said: "Hughes, I see you have brought over a number of men from Canada; they are of course without training and this would apply to their officers; I have decided to divide them up among the British regiments; they will be of very little use to us as they are." Sir Sam replied: "Sir, do I understand you to say that you are going to break up these Canadian regiments that came over? Why, it will kill recruiting in Canada." Kitchener answered: "You have your orders, carry them out." Sir Sam replied: "I'll be damned if I will," turned on his heel and marched out. He immediately cabled to Sir Robert Borden the disturbing news of this change of policy, and interviewed the British Prime Minister (Mr. Asquith) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lloyd George). Within a few days the order was rescinded; it was decided that the Canadian units should not be broken up but should be kept together to operate and fight in Canadian formations in the field.

Sir Sam Hughes had many faults, but he could scarcely be accused of either "isolationism" or colonial servility. It is a pity that some of our colonially-minded editors and petty politicians do not show a little of his spirit.

Labor and the CCF

ONE SIGNIFICANT FEATURE of the Canadian Congress of Labor convention which took place at Ottawa during the third week in September is that Canadian trade unionism is coming to see the futility of 'keeping out of politics.' Labor relations is so obviously a political matter, and the government's handling of them so obviously a failure, that the old tradition of keeping on the side lines and supporting one or other of the old parties according to their promises has ceased to satisfy thinking trade unionists. Many of the resolutions dealt with political matters, and the content of them had a very close relation to CCF demands, as once more formulated at the party's national convention. This is true not only of strictly labor matters such as the demand for collective bargaining, for labor representation on war boards, public hearings at the war labor boards, adequate minimum wages and the like; it is equally true of wider resolutions demanding public ownership and control of financial institutions, public health insurance, limitation of corporation profits to four percent, and many others.

In view of this, it is not surprising to find that the following resolution, which specifically recognizes that the CCF has been in parliament the champion of labor, and looks forward to closer relations with it, was passed with only one dissenting voice and was supported not only by the rank

and file but by the Congress officers, including President Mosher, who gave it unqualified support. The resolution reads:

Whereas it is essential that organized labor organize for political action; and
Whereas representatives of the C.C.F. in parliament and other legislative bodies have fought ardently and consistently for the objectives of and to protect the rights of organized labor; and
Whereas the C.C.F. has a nation-wide political organization and is uniting for common purposes the farmers and the industrial workers of this country;
Be it resolved that this convention expresses its appreciation of the work done on behalf of labor by the C.C.F. members in parliament and that it recommends to its chartered and affiliated unions that they study the program of the C.C.F.

Taken together with the fact that a number of unions in Ontario have already affiliated to the CCF, as well as the miners of Nova Scotia, and that a large number of others are discussing affiliation, the unanimity with which this resolution was passed by the Canadian Congress, which represents 160,000 active trade unionists throughout the country, gives definite hope that a real labor-farmer party is being built across Canada by those who are now building the CCF. Clearly, it is the only, real opposition to the old parties.

Beef

THE SCARCITY of beef and the apparent complete divorce of understanding between Chairman Gordon of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board and Minister of Agriculture Gardiner on the subject indicate a situation bound to confuse the public and antagonize the farmer. Canada is a beef producing country and a minimum of planning and coöperation between the producers and the consumers under the direction of the government would certainly have prevented anything like the present scarcity and the atmosphere of distrust which has arisen from it. However, Mr. Gordon by stopping all exports to the United States and reverting to the price-ceiling has reversed without warning the Food Corporation policy under which the farmers had expected to market their beef for a reasonable length of time. The farmers, not unnaturally, see their cattle as a long term investment and have decided to hang onto it until they have assurance of a more stable market and a more consistent government policy. Mr. Gardiner seems incapable of bringing sufficient pressure on the Wartime Prices and Trade Board to make it reconsider its actions in view of the farmers' angry suspicions, a real reflection on his capacity as their representative. And Mr. Gordon meets criticism of his short-sighted policy by threats of rationing.

Beef rationing may prove necessary and undoubtedly some sort of adjustable price-ceiling measure is required; but in wartime, in such a country as Canada, where the goodwill and coöperation of the farmer are essential, no policy should be put into force which has not been thoroughly discussed by representatives of all those concerned, or the necessity for which is not entirely understood and accepted.

New Set-up in the CBC

INSTEAD OF RESIGNING in a body, which I would have been the fitting sequel to the censure meted out to it by the parliamentary committee, the board of governors of the CBC has appointed one of its members as general manager and has created for Mr. Gladstone Murray the new post of director general of broadcasting, the duties of which have not yet been clearly defined. Proposed salaries of \$15,000 a year for the new general manager, \$14,000 a year for Mr. Murray and \$14,000 a year for Dr. Frigon, assistant general manager, have been referred back to the board by the government for reconsideration. All this looks like a flouting of the spirit, if not the letter, of the committee's recommendations. The committee found that the board had been delinquent in dealing with a serious situation when it demoted Mr. Murray and set up a divided control. It now looks as if that divided control was to be perpetuated. It was clearly not the committee's intent that Mr. Murray should be given a position of equal responsibility to the general manager's, as seems to be indicated by the new title and proposed salary, and it is unlikely that this will conduce to harmony within the Corporation. As for Dr. J. S. Thomson, appointed general manager for one year, although he is said to be a good administrator and a friend of public ownership, he scarcely conforms to the sense of the word "Canadian" evidently intended by the committee when it listed the preferred qualifications for the post, since he has only lived in Canada for nine years. Moreover, he was a member of the board whose vacillatory actions earned the committee's censure. Recent action of the board in authorizing another private station to act as the outlet of a United States chain, contrary to the spirit of the Broadcasting Act, is not a happy augury. One praiseworthy result of the committee's work is the government's decision to set up a high power short wave station, a step which is long overdue. But the government has not yet culled the deadwood from the board, nor made any move to fill the long standing vacancies with representatives of labor and agriculture, as recommended by

the committee. Friends of the CBC will await the outcome of the new set-up with some misgiving.

"What a Good Boy Am I"

FALL FAIRS have acquired a new function in Ontario, that of providing a sounding board for the province's political Thiamese twins—Mitch Hepburn and George Drew. It is only recently that Col. Drew has begun to cultivate the farmers, and we wonder how they will receive his ideas on manpower. The essence of his complaint is that "in the armed forces, on the farms and in industry, as a nation we must stop playing with the problems of manpower;" but we fear that farmers who are watching their crops rot in the fields for want of helpers will not be greatly impressed with his proposed remedy—the removal of "every restraint from the employment of our armed forces"—accompanied by a side tip to them to follow the lead of the British farmer and organize locally to double their production. As for Mitch, he is already known to the farmers as a man of large promises. His new role as a friend of labor and co-worker with the Communists for greater aid to Russia will come as something of a surprise to them. It will not, of course, deceive the Ontario working man, whose memory is reasonably tenacious. The latter's principal reaction is likely to be a sort of dazed wonder at the sheer nerve of a man who could choose Oshawa, forever associated with his bitter attacks on organized labor, as the rostrum from which to dramatize himself as labor's champion. The service clubs of the Cornwall district may have shorter memories and more trusting natures; his plea that they forget "party politics" resulted in the already crowned Saint and Sinner being made an honorary Kinsman. As for the farmers, they are getting wise to Mitch, if a current well-authenticated story is any indication. At a country auction sale, Mitch mounted a manure-spreader to speak. "This is the first time," he began, "that I ever stood on a Tory platform." As the laughter died away, a voice from the crowd exclaimed: "Hitch it up and haul it away; that's the biggest load it ever had."



Maligning the CCF

A RECENT GALLUP POLL showed that the CCF now has over twice as many supporters amongst the electorate of Canada as it had in January last, and almost three times as many as voted for it in the 1940 federal elections.

But it did not require a Gallup poll to demonstrate that the CCF is making impressive gains. Apart from the fact that party membership has been growing by leaps and bounds (in Ontario alone it more than doubled during the past five months), the alarmed outcries, coupled with misrepresentation, belittlement and mud-slinging, that have been pouring from the press of the old parties and of big business would have been convincing enough evidence.

The Liberal organs are the most perturbed, and it is curious to read their anxious exhortations to the Conservatives to inject life into the Tory party and thus preserve the country from the calamity of an entirely new political alignment. The *Winnipeg Free Press* is the frankest in its definition of the danger. After pouring tepid water on the CCF's aspirations, it goes on to say:

Nevertheless, the growth of the CCF is such that the two older national parties . . . must face the fact that one or other of them is bound to go down if the CCF makes serious national inroads into their strength. There is not room in Canada for more than two major political groupings, and if the C.C.F. is to be one of them, either the Liberal or the Conservative party will disappear . . . The present strong position of the Liberals makes the danger to its future more acute to the Conservative party . . . But the meteoric ascent of the Progressive party should remain a salutary lesson to the present leaders of the Liberal and Conservative parties, for history in this respect can repeat itself with results which, in our judgment, might easily spell the permanent disruption of Canadian Conservatism, which therefore should address itself without delay—and for the purpose of its own preservation even if for no worthier motive—to the process of reconstruction.

Thus, in the same breath, the *Free Press* expresses confidence in the Liberal party's future, and admits its anxiety over the prospect of having to fight the CCF singlehanded. It would much prefer a foeman unworthy of its steel—if he can be propped up sufficiently long to make a few passes. If he should, by some miracle, land a lucky blow and turn the tables on his erstwhile coach—well, after all, there isn't so much difference between the Liberals and the Conservatives. And anything would be safer than the CCF!

The consequent attacks on the CCF have taken various forms. Most of the shameless misrepresentations of CCF policies stand self-revealed as such to any intelligent person. All of them emerge

in their true colors when the CCF platform or the speeches of its spokesmen in and out of parliament are examined.

More curious is the upbraiding of the CCF for being allegedly untrue to its own principles. Says the *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, for instance, referring to the recent CCF national convention:

One may question very much whether this note of extreme moderation that has been struck at Toronto, this absence of the fire of socialist enthusiasm, will appeal to a people engaged in war and with the example of the complete socialism of Russia continuously held before them. Halfway measures may not be the right attitude in the post-war period, are not, in fact, a sound policy for any ideological party.

But complaints that the CCF is not socialist enough, advanced by papers which have never shown any enthusiasm for socialism, are not likely to receive serious attention from anyone.

Another and indirect form of attack is the belated espousal by other parties of labor legislation which the CCF has been advocating for years. Witness Mitch Hepburn's proposed "Wagner Act" and the resolutions of the Port Hope Conservatives. But coming as they do at the eleventh hour, these moves look too much like vote-catching dodges to be convincing.

As for the Communists and their "fellow travellers," their sniping at the CCF for being "lukewarm about a second front" will only serve to recall the fact that the Communist party's first allegiance is to Russia, not Canada, and that it is not so long ago that they were doing all they could to sabotage Canada's war effort. The fact is, of course, that the CCF is just as anxious for an invasion of Europe as any Communist could be, but realizes that, unfortunately, matters of high strategy must be decided by those in possession of all the facts of a world-wide situation.

The latest and most virulent assault on the CCF, however, centres in the charge that it has been "wooing" Quebec over the question of conscription. It is easy to see why, although the Conservatives are the most horrified, the Liberals are the most enraged by such a possibility; for the Liberal party has notoriously depended on the French-Canadian vote to keep it in office all these years.

There is nothing inherently wrong, as most of those who make the charge admit, in seeking the support of French-Canadian voters. The plain fact is that unless this country is to be split by a racial and religious schism which will undo everything that has been accomplished since Confederation, a course must be mapped which will win the support of all elements in our population. If the CCF seems likely to attract an increasing number of followers in all parts of Canada, it is not because the CCF

is "playing politics," but because it has sensed more acutely than the other parties what are the real needs of the Canadian people, and what is required to unite them in a common national endeavor. The CCF is winning support because it recognizes that what is primarily needed is a reconstruction of our economic and governmental machinery so that it will serve the interests of the people as a whole instead of a privileged few.

The real sting of the charge is that the CCF has deliberately changed its policy on the war to win Quebec support. What are the facts? The CCF has been accused of being "isolationist." But this is merely a smear word that has lost any precise meaning. The CCF is, and always has been, nationalist, in the sense indicated by the late Lord Tweedsmuir when he said: "Canada is a sovereign nation and cannot take her attitude to the world docilely from Britain, or from the United States, or from anybody else. A Canadian's first loyalty is not to the British Commonwealth of Nations, but to Canada and to Canada's king . . . A sovereign people must, as part of its sovereign duty, take up its own attitude to world problems."

When it became clear that this war was not just another duel between European groups, into which Britain had been drawn by the criminal folly of a ruling class fearful for its position of power, but had become a revolutionary upheaval, in which the whole future of the common people of the world, including Canada, was at stake, the CCF gave its unqualified support to Canada's participation.

It did more. It demanded a total mobilization of our resources, on a scale and according to a plan which would make our effort fully effective. It called the bluff of those who were shouting for conscription of men to fight outside Canada, by demanding that this should be accompanied by full mobilization of our material resources, and that our effort should be organized in such a way that one part would not be expanded at the expense of another. It believed, and still believes, that in view of our population and position, our most important job is production of food, weapons, ships and supplies. But it demanded a *total* war effort, and is still demanding it—in vain.

Had this policy been followed, it might never have been necessary to raise the question of conscription. Conscription is a word associated in the minds of many Canadians, especially those of French-speaking Canada, with the old kind of war. In this war, French-Canadians have volunteered in large numbers for overseas service. Some of them died at Dieppe. French Canada even consented to conscription for home service. But conscription of men to fight abroad without a full conscription of material resources is a travesty of "total war," and

is as repugnant to thousands of English-speaking Canadians as it is to their French-speaking fellow citizens. Had there been a genuinely total mobilization in Canada, it is probable that French Canada, like the rest of the dominion, would have accepted it without demur. But Mr. King, yielding to the pressure of extremist groups, entered upon a course of political manoeuvring which made it clear that, while he might introduce military conscription in toto, he had no intention of using a similar degree of compulsion in respect to material resources and those who still control their disposal. Thus he is fast losing the confidence and support of Quebec.

In its war policy, the CCF has been unwavering and consistent. No shifting of its attitude, no "political jobbery," have been necessary to win support amongst the people of all parts of Canada for this, as for its economic platform of justice and equality for all classes of citizens in a land whose productiveness has hitherto been curbed to the advantage of a small minority.

The attempt to foment animosity and disunity by turning the guns of bigotry and racial prejudice against Quebec might be expected from such rabid sectionalists organs as the *Toronto Telegram*. What is regrettable and alarming is to see the Western papers of the Sifton chain, which have hitherto been regarded as liberal minded, adopting the same tactics. If this is to be the result of Mr. King's mistaken policy of appeasement towards an arrogant bloc of Tory imperialists and self-seeking industrialists, it is time that more Canadians turned to the CCF, with its policy of genuine Canadian unity and total effort in the face of the mounting world crisis.

Life's Cycle

We who are short stories out of a big book,
the infinitude of history propagating events,
pause now and then in the rush of routine to look
at those casual yet weighty moments
when we were given life in various fashions
by the most fierce and fluctuating passions.

We were swaddled with gilded emptiness, dug out
of woman's gravid void, mere puling louts
of infancy, by the phallic pick-ax
in a nine-month's span of compounding climax,
three-dimensioned beings, by life sown
in different circumstances, to be blown
about in a cycle of living and dying
upon the winds of time, yielding and defying
the claims of death till we're of the lifeless corps
in the anthology of forgotten lore.

CLEM GRAHAM

India -- Politics as Usual

Henry Stanley

SINCE THE RETURN of Sir Stafford Cripps from India, events there have belied his comfortable statement that, in spite of the failure of his mission, the ground had been prepared for better understanding. Quite the contrary; the disunity of India grows constantly more dangerous to the cause of the United Nations. The actions of Churchill, Cripps and Co. on the one hand, and Gandhi, Birla and Co. on the other, is such an astonishing exhibition of politics as usual that sober persons are led to wonder whether victory can ever come under leaders so mired in traditional formulas and so utterly lacking in the democratic instinct for brotherhood.

The external danger to India is acute. The least perceptive of amateur strategists grasp the fact that the Axis powers may soon be in a position to deliver a two-front assault on the Middle and Far Eastern territory of the United Nations. Whether or not the Axis forces will be able to secure command of nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of the vast coastline of Eurasia may very well depend upon the resistance offered by India to the Axis powers. For this reason the need of establishing a firm war alliance between the United Nations and authentic representatives of the Indian people is not something that can any longer be left to Whitehall bureaucrats, London politicians and the self-appointed "protectors" of a nation which constitutes one sixth of the human race. The problem of India profoundly concerns every citizen of Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China—and not least of all, Canada. If it turns out to be a problem we cannot solve, such a failure will demonstrate our political and moral bankruptcy and will provide the basis for our military destruction.

Sir Stafford Cripps has been good enough to explain to the people of North America, through the medium of an article in the *New York Times*, the reasons why India is in turmoil. His article is simply a condensation of the Simon Report, and in setting his hand to it Cripps has prepared for himself a place in history similar to that of the present Lord Chancellor. It is a familiar exposé of the difficulties arising out of the existence of antithetical groups such as the Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs. It neglects utterly the experience of Commonwealth history that political independence, granted gradually in the case of Canada and instantly in the case of South Africa, has been the means of creating unity in nations torn asunder by

racial strife. In both Canada and South Africa, national unity is always greatest when suspicion of outside interference in national affairs is least, and national unity in these countries has grown with their genuine national experience as states.

In his article in the *New York Times*, Cripps has neglected to tell us what he admitted to the British House of Commons. Speaking to the people of North America, he dismisses the Indian National Congress with four lines of description as "largely Hindu." This means about as much in terms of ideology, political objectives, organization and social composition as saying that the British Labor party is "largely English." In the British House of Commons, however, Cripps paid the Congress the tribute of acknowledging that it is so powerful a political organization that his mission failed the moment the Congress leaders rejected his proposals. The plain fact is that the Indian National Congress bears the same relationship to the people of India as the Kuomintang does to the people of China or the Democratic party to the people of the United States. It is the largest and most representative political organization in the country, and it cannot be ignored by the United Nations.

When Cripps went out to India, the Indian National Congress was controlled by Jawaharlal Nehru and his friends. This means that the Congress rank and file were giving their support to men who are democratic, anti-Fascist and egalitarian in their outlook—men who have been the friends and supporters of China, Czechoslovakia and the Spanish republic in the hour of those nations' tragedy and not only in the hour of their own necessity. Nehru and Abdul Kalam Azad met Cripps, and they failed to obtain from him anything but a series of proposals which did not differ in the main essentials of a transfer of power from any made by the British government since 1917. Cripps promised independence, but he refused to modify in any respect the ultimate responsibility of the viceroy to the British government for the conduct of affairs during the course of the war. The Congress leaders rejected these proposals.

Nehru and Azad did not bother to discuss the future independence of India at any great length. They realize that the pattern of the future will be determined by what happens in India during the course of the next year. They asked for the power to determine the defense policy of India. They insisted on the power to raise an irregular

army of 100,000,000 men: in short, for the arming of the people in the streets and the villages. This is the only feasible policy for an under-industrialized and poverty-stricken country in the presence of aggression by highly industrialized states. The lessons of the U.S.S.R. and China on the one hand, and Malaya and Burma on the other, are plain enough, but they appear to be utterly lost on Cripps and the British war cabinet. The London politicians insist on a policy of depending on mercenary armies which have been defeated by the Japanese in every encounter to date and on British and American armies whose lines of communication with their supply bases stretch out 10,000 miles or more. Cripps and Churchill are resolved to fight a people's war by imperialist methods; Nehru knows that we can win a people's war only by the methods of popular mass resistance. The United Nations have already digested a sufficiently bitter chunk of history to know that Nehru is right and Churchill is wrong.

When Nehru and Azad failed to reach an agreement with Cripps, the Congress swung away from the anti-Fascist democratic leadership to the reactionary, compromising leadership of Gandhi. When it became clear that the London politicians are determined to adhere to the ill-starred defense policies, which have enabled the Japanese to conquer 75,000,000 in three months, the Congress leaders began to wonder whether or not a neutral and, perhaps, anti-British policy would be less compromising for themselves in the probable event of a Japanese victory. Gandhi is an unscrupulous realist in politics, and he believes that he and his friends (who are for the most part textile capitalists) will be better served by a policy of wait and see. Objectively considered this policy is very dangerous for us, because it means that as our difficulties increase Gandhi's bias against us will grow and we will be least able to depend on India when our necessities are greatest.

It is reported that, on receiving word of Gandhi's intention to start a civil disobedience campaign, Mr. Amery smiled with satisfaction and said: "Gandhi is doing just what I expected he would." He then proceeded to attack the Congress with armed force in India and with propaganda in the United States. There is no doubt that Amery has the power to destroy the Congress organization in India and to discredit it abroad. This is what the Japanese are waiting for him to accomplish. The Japanese high command know very well that India is an immense country whose occupation can only be achieved by joining political intrigue with armed force. They are waiting until the Indian people are thoroughly convinced that the United Nations will never accord India equality of rights. Then they will strike,

and take advantage of the anarchy and disunity which the destruction of the political organizations of the Indian people by the government of India is bound to produce.

The press and political pundits in Canada and the United States seem to think that they have solved the problem of India by calling Gandhi names and by demonstrating that we are morally superior to the Nazis because the viceroy allowed the old man to talk out of his turn before locking him up. Gandhi needs no anathemas. He is an unscrupulous, reactionary old mystic with a shrewd capacity for estimating who is going to win. He has come to power in the Congress because the rank and file of the Congress are convinced that the defense policies of the viceroy are bound to produce disaster, and that, in the absence of British goodwill, no other policies likely to succeed are possible. If, however, the United Nations call a halt to the insanely conservative policies of the Churchill government and give the anti-Fascist and democratic forces in the Indian National Congress some real power to organize a popular defense effort, the people of India in the broad mass will respond. An anti-Axis, democratic provisional government supported with honesty and goodwill by Great Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China will *not* become the victim of disgruntled Moslem or Hindu fanatics, disappointed Indian princes and all the other semi-feudal and reactionary forces for whose rights Lord Halifax and Sir Stafford Cripps have displayed so much public sympathy. It is also necessary to add that such a provisional government will not reject the services of British and American technicians and soldiers.

We people who have won our freedom and our right to representative democracy must in our own interest insist that the Atlantic Charter be applied at once to India. The reputation of that document will not depend on what we do for the Belgians or the Luxembourgers after victory but upon what we do today for a people more numerous than all the peoples of Europe. In Canada, we must put an end to the disgraceful spectacle of great newspapers like the *Winnipeg Free Press* telling the Canadian public that the present government of India is an authentic Indian government because all but four of its members have brown skins. Mr. John W. Dafoe and Mr. George V. Ferguson ought to know that the difference between Sir Firozkahn Noon and Jawaharlal Nehru is the same as the difference was between Lord Byng and Mr. Mackenzie King, or between John Beverley Robinson and Robert Baldwin: one is an officeholder nominated by an exterior power, the other is a real representative of the people.

Sir Stafford Cripps has told us that it is im-

possible in wartime to organize a provisional government without an elective constitutional basis. Sir Stafford is less than candid. Argumentation based on technical quibbling of this sort is an astounding display in the present circumstances. Cripps has been about enough to know that the

Chinese government is a provisional government without an elective constitutional basis. It is a good government and a popular government, and the sooner a government similar to that of China is set up in India, the sooner will we be able to hope for the utter destruction of Japanese imperialism.

Appeasement in the CBC

R. B. Tolbridge

IN A PREVIOUS ARTICLE, it was contended that the serious state of affairs in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation uncovered by the recent parliamentary committee signifies a betrayal of those principles and aims inherent in the Canadian Broadcasting Act, under which the CBC was set up.

How far those in control have departed from the spirit of the act, both in their conception and administration of public service broadcasting, and in their exercise of the power over radio which the act vests in them, the evidence itself reveals with startling clarity.

Here, for instance, is how the general manager, Mr. Gladstone Murray, summarized his views on the relation of public to private broadcasting in Canada:

It is always well to keep in mind that it is not an easy job to reconcile the interests of public service broadcasting and private broadcasting. There was a time when my experience had been limited to the British Broadcasting Company and the British Broadcasting Corporation. Then I was a purist in my view about the use of broadcasting and opposed to its commercialization in any sense. But having studied the problem in Canada with a relatively small population and an enormous area to be covered, one's theories have been modified in the light of what is possible and practical . . . There is always a danger that a regulatory body will be viewed by those it controls as a meddlesome bureaucracy, and particularly so in this case when in one sense we are operating a competitive business.

In other words, although the Canadian Broadcasting Act clearly vests in the CBC full power to control and regulate *all* broadcasting in Canada, including the licensing of private stations and the supervision of what they put on the air, the man chiefly responsible for administering this control and for conducting the broadcasting operations of the CBC itself conceives of the latter as "operating a competitive business" with respect to the private stations.

All through Mr. Murray's evidence there is discernible an eagerness to stress the "improved relations" with the private stations, and to commend them for their "coöperation."

Such an attitude on the part of the chief executive of the CBC becomes a little less astonishing, however, when one turns to the evidence of the minister of national war services, currently the parliamentary spokesman for the corporation. Pressed by members of the committee to produce the minutes of the board of governors, so that the committee might determine for itself how much time the board had been giving to framing public broadcasting policies and how much to receiving delegations of private interests bent on improving their position in the broadcasting field, Mr. Thorson stoutly resisted on the ground that this would endanger the "integrity and autonomy of the corporation," and then went on to say:

May I mention one other point . . . and that is the safeguarding of the position of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as against its competitors. I think it would be grossly unfair to the CBC to disclose its deliberations to the public and make them known to competitors of the corporation who may or may not be friendly to the corporation . . . Are we going to give the private interests an advantage over the publicly-owned corporation by exposing to the private stations the deliberations of the publicly-owned corporation? Do you think for a moment that the privately-owned stations would expose their minutes to the view of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation? Then why put our corporation in a disadvantageous position vis-a-vis its competitor?

Here was the same conception of the private stations as "competitors" of the CBC. It did not seem to occur to Mr. Thorson that while there might be something to be said for preserving a reasonable degree of privacy in the deliberations of the board of governors as an autonomous body (until the manner in which they were fulfilling their trust became a matter of public concern), this could have nothing to do with safeguarding the corporation against the private stations, since the latter are under the control of the corporation, responsible to it for the proper performance of their prescribed function in the communities they serve, and amenable in all respects to the corporation's rulings. And where did Mr. Thorson get the idea that the

private stations would be entitled to withhold their minutes from the view of the CBC if the latter wished to inspect them? But of that, more anon.

Mr. Morin, chairman of the board of governors, was not so explicit in defining the status of the CBC as a "competitor" of the private stations, although, as will be seen later, his ideas about programs revealed a basically similar attitude. But he, too, seemed anxious to stress the cordiality of the CBC's dealings with its "competitors."

I am happy to tell you (he said) that the good understanding between the private stations and the corporation has in fact been considerably improved. Close touch is maintained with the Canadian Association of Broadcasters and with the privately-owned stations generally.

As for Mr. Thorson, his fundamental misunderstanding of the relationship between the CBC and the private stations is revealed in the following statement he gave of that relationship:

The policy of the CBC with regard to these stations is to recognize their utility in serving a community purpose and for the time being to use them when necessary to supplement the coverage given by CBC stations. No subsidies or payments in consideration of carrying CBC programs are made to any of the private stations.

If the CBC sustaining programs are not in the nature of a subsidy, how is it that Mr. Morin could state in evidence (as quoted in a previous article) that "few of these stations could survive or give satisfactory service without their connection with the national system"? In addition to the sustaining programs (that is, programs originated by the CBC) there are the commercial programs fed to the private stations on the CBC network, for which they are paid a proportionate (many would say a disproportionate) share of the advertiser's money, less a percentage to cover the cost of line transmission borne by the CBC. If these are not technically subsidies, they certainly amount to the same thing. Moreover, stations which now duplicate the CBC's own stations in certain areas are still kept on the network; the power of a number of stations has been increased, with the CBC's approval, thus enhancing the commercial value of their "time;" and certain stations have been permitted to remain as Canadian outlets of United States commercial chains (a direct violation of the spirit of the Canadian Broadcasting Act, which reserves all network broadcasting to CBC control). Also, license fees paid by the private stations have not been increased proportionately to the growing revenues and profits of these stations.

But returning to Mr. Morin's evidence, he seems to make it clear that he regarded private interests generally—those of radio and of the press—as having, if not prior, at least a very special call on

the time of the board of governors. Asked by Mr. Graydon whether the fact that the board members lived in such widely separated parts of Canada accounted for so few meetings being held (about four to the year), he replied:

You know, the board is not called upon to mix up into the internal management of the corporation—that is the business of the chief executive, of the general manager—but to pass on matters of policy, regulations and budget and the granting of private licenses, increases of power, receiving delegations from the public, from the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, from the press. Whenever anything like that becomes urgent we call a meeting, but if we were to call a meeting regularly every month I am inclined to believe that there would not be very many matters to deal with.

One would like to know how much time the board actually spent in receiving "delegations from the public." But it may be noted that the reason given for failure to accord proper consideration to the Plaunt report at the board's meeting in August, 1940, was that the governors were too busy negotiating with The Canadian Press to take up this matter of primary importance, formal discussion of which had already been repeatedly postponed over a period of eighteen months.

But it is when we come to the question of programs that the fuzziness of the board chairman's understanding of what public service broadcasting involves is revealed in all its alarming implications. He was speaking of "radio publicity" (that is, advertiser-sponsored broadcasting), which, he said, had "the double advantage of bringing in important revenue to the corporation and of, moreover, producing its own programs, thus relieving the corporation from the obligation of building its own programs during the period devoted to commercials." This, he thought, "by lessening the number of programs which the corporation otherwise would have to produce, has enabled the concentration of available income with resultant improvement of quality of programs."

The last part of this statement, of course, requires proof. But many will be puzzled by the thought that commercials are regarded by the board as "relieving the corporation from the obligation of building its own programs"—especially in view of Mr. Morin's notions of the character and function of commercial programs. These were expressed in the following words:

If a broadcasting system is to do any good it must be heard and listened to by the greatest possible number of people. The advertiser, broadcasting for the purpose of selling merchandise, appeals to the public at large and accordingly his programs are built to be attractive to the mass of the people. Surveys show that programs which an intellectual would consider common and vulgar are usually those which draw the greatest number of listeners. Certain commercial programs there

are, of course, of a high character, but it cannot be doubted that competing for an audience, as it does with private stations, the national network, without proper commercials, would only retain the ear of a very small proportion of the listeners.

Can it be possible that Mr. Morin really believes that the CBC's own public service programs are not, and cannot, be "built to be attractive to the mass of the people"? Does he really believe that without broadcasting the "common and vulgar" the CBC can "only retain the ear of a very small proportion of the listeners"? Must the CBC cater only to two classes of people—the "intellectual," and the person who can appreciate only the "common and vulgar"? It is true, Mr. Morin pays lip-service to "certain commercial programs" which are "of a high character." But most people would (we think justifiably) conclude from Mr. Morin's words that the function of the CBC, as conceived by himself, was to appeal to a select audience of "highbrows" and that of the commercial broadcasters to cater to the masses with material which is (with a few exceptions) "common and vulgar"; and that in order to hold the ear of the populace and compete successfully with the private stations the CBC must therefore carry a large proportion of what conforms to the advertiser's idea of a "popular" program.

Surely there could be no grosser perversion of the concepts and ideals on which the CBC was founded. And what makes it so alarming is that this is precisely the conception that private broadcasting interests (which subsist on advertiser-sponsored broadcasting) would like to perpetuate. The point is so fundamentally important that it will bear a little clarification. But first let us examine the views of the erstwhile general manager, Mr. Gladstone Murray, as given in evidence.

Mr. Murray, of course, being an experienced broadcaster and publicist, sees perfectly the issues at stake. He does not commit the error of postulating this hard and fast line of demarcation between "highbrow" and "popular" broadcasting. But he tends to categorize in much the same way, though with a different application. He says:

As to program policy . . . It can be taken of course, that fundamentally the CBC should contribute to the maintenance and encouragement of the unity of Canada. How is this to be done? I suggest through first class entertainment providing diversion and bringing to Canada the best that can be created inside and brought from outside, all authentic and worthwhile. That is the first step. We are in the show business primarily. We have to establish ourselves as good at that business. Secondly, there is the provision of useful information in palatable form for the general listener and for the specialized listener—the general talks, the farm programs, and so on.

Here a more subtle distinction is drawn between "entertainment" and "information in palatable form." How "first class entertainment providing diversion" can "contribute to the maintenance and encouragement of the unity of Canada" seems a little obscure. But questioned by members of the committee, Mr. Murray made his emphasis on the primary importance of "entertainment" clear:

Mr. Graydon: Does the average listener look for entertainment before anything else?

Mr. Murray: Certainly; 95%. I should not be dogmatic because I have always said there is no way of judging, but that is my instinct.

Mr. Claxton: When you say 95% you define entertainment pretty broadly, do you not?

Mr. Murray: Yes.

But Mr. Murray did not elaborate on this simple "yes." He went on to refer, as though in a postscript, to another class of broadcasting—"the stimulus of thought . . . doing what we can to encourage independent thinking with a view to creating an attitude of understanding and tolerance." Discussing further the commercial programs carried by the CBC he said:

These programs, of course, are the finest product of the entertainment industry in the United States and they are going to be listened to in North America whether we carry them or not. We are in the fortunate position of carrying them to the advantage of our listeners, while being paid for them at the same time. The listeners of Canada enjoy these programs and I feel it is our duty to see that they can hear them. Too many people who live in the icy and rarefied atmosphere of higher thought are inclined to condemn a program merely because it is sponsored.

Commercialized broadcasting was strictly delimited in its scope by the Canadian Broadcasting Act precisely because there was no hope of unregulated commercial interests operating on a disinterested basis; indeed the need was seen for restraining their natural tendency to serve strictly selfish and anti-social ends. But private interests are prepared to fight hard and cunningly to extend their circumscribed privileges. The evidence quoted above shows that they have encountered a most accommodating spirit in the CBC because of the attitude of certain members of the board and of the general manager to the relationship between public and private broadcasting under the Act. In a subsequent article, we shall see how these private interests have reacted to the gestures of appeasement extended them by our public broadcasting authority.

The Steel Crisis

G. M. A. Grube

FOR MONTHS, indeed since the beginning of the war, the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, now the United Steel Workers of America, have urged two things upon the government: that the wage rates in steel were too low both in relation to other industries and absolutely; and also that steel was in fact a national industry like shipbuilding and transportation, and should be treated as such. The first resolution asking for a national conference of steel employers and workers reached the department of labor in November, 1939; many similar requests have been made since, recently in December, 1941, and in the proposals for a national steel policy entitled Victory Needs Steel, published this spring. The government took no notice.

In March of this year an application went to the regional board of Nova Scotia from the Dosco steel plant at Sydney asking for a basic wage of 55c per hour, instead of 43½c. This was shortly after a similar request had reached the Ontario regional board from the Algoma Steel plant at Sault Ste. Marie, where the basic rate was 45½c.

The Nova Scotia board gave its decision on Aug. 5. It was negative, and the existing rates were declared "not low" within the meaning of P.C. 5963 (which incidentally dated four months later than the application). The Ontario request, handed down ten days later, was mainly to the same effect, though they were willing to consider adjustments in certain categories.

On Aug. 17 the Algoma workers took a day off to discuss the board's decision and took a strike vote. The result was announced: 3,122 in favor of a strike if necessary, 22 against. Such a ballot, taken by the union itself, does not, be it noted, conform to the provisions of P.C. 7307. The workers have evidently decided to ignore that iniquitous document (see *The Canadian Forum*, November, 1941). They entrusted C. H. Millard, Canadian director of U.S.W.A. with the power to act on their behalf. A similar ballot was taken by the Sydney local two days later, with similar result, and the same man was chosen to represent them.

Following this, on August 21 Mr. Millard wrote to the prime minister, asking for his intervention in the dispute. He wrote again the next day, and once more suggested a national conference of employers and workers. On August 27th a reply was received: it refused to intervene and

ignored the plea for a national conference of the whole industry.

A strike was called in both plants for Monday evening August 31st, unless some settlement was reached. By this time, workers in the Steel Co. plant in Hamilton and the Vickers plant in Montreal had voted Millard the same authority to represent them. The Algoma company made arrangements with the union so that the workers essential for the maintenance of equipment, etc., should be provided in case of strike. Nothing was heard from Ottawa except thundering threats from Humphrey Mitchel: severe penalties, he said, were provided under the orders in council and they would be applied. At the same time he was sending an appeal to Philip Murray in the States, asking him to use his influence to prevent a strike.

Then, at the last moment, during the night of Sunday August 30th, a proposal reached the Soo which invited Millard and his associates to Ottawa for a conference (not with the employers), if the threat of strike was removed. The proposal was discussed on Monday morning by the unions and accepted. The strike was called off both in Sydney and the Soo, though by this time preparations had gone so far forward, furnaces banked, etc., that the Algoma men, though not on strike, were in fact not working for a couple of days, and the employers not unnaturally hesitated to start things up again until some word of settlement came from Ottawa.

No sooner did the workers' representatives reach Ottawa, however, than an injunction was applied for against them—C. H. Millard, union director, E. Dalrymple and W. Mahoney, president and secretary of the Algoma local—and a writ was actually issued in Toronto to restrain them from calling a strike.

None the less, after two days of negotiations, agreement was reached on a proposal to appoint a three man commission under the I.D.I. act, one named by workers, one by employers and the chairman named by the government. That commission only began to function after the employers appointed their representative about Sept. 18. The workers had already named Mr. King Gordon and the government Mr. Justice F. H. Barlow. There matters stand at the moment, except for a news despatch on Sept. 16 that action of the Attorney-General of Canada in seeking an injunction against the U.S.W.A. has been abandoned.

A National Industry

One vital feature of this dispute is the unity of action and timing achieved by workers in two important but widely separated plants. The advantages to be gained by acting together, and through the same negotiators, are quite plain even from the above bare recital of events. This indeed is the vital difference between a genuine trade union which covers an industry, as against the company unions so favored of our employers and our government. Negotiations covering several plants, corporations, or a whole industry are the rule in Britain, our sister dominions and the United States. But our Canadian government prefers to follow the old adage, divide and rule. They are flogging a dying horse.

This display of unity in common action is completely in accord with the union's demand that steel be recognized as a national industry. In fact, it is so, except in labor matters, as Mr. Millard very rightly pointed out to the prime minister. He wrote:

I must point out that, in spite of the refusal of the minister of labor and the national war labor board to designate steel as a national industry, manpower, prices, priorities and allocation of orders are now regulated on a national basis.

I respectfully suggest that wages and working conditions are equally important as major factors in the production of steel, and it is therefore verging on the ridiculous to think that they can be satisfactorily settled on anything but a national basis.

One might point out that, while Dosco has its head office in Montreal, it controls plants in Nova Scotia, the Peck Rolling Mills in Montreal and the Canadian Bridge Co. at Windsor; that the Canadian Steel Co. operates in Ontario and Quebec etc. It need surely not be argued at this time of day that our big employers in the steel industry as elsewhere, are nation-wide employers—indeed their ramifications extend over far more than one industry or country. That labor relations should be picked out as the one factor that must be settled piecemeal and provincially is not only ridiculous but absurd.

Or rather, it would be absurd if it were not deliberate. National responsibility for labor relations was accepted by the government at the beginning of the war when it passed P.C. 3495 which extended dominion jurisdiction and the scope of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act to all war industries, and the government's conciliation services worked on this assumption for two years. Last year, however, the policy was reversed by P.C. 8253 in October and, as I showed in the July *Canadian Forum*, Mr. Humphrey Mitchell has, since his elevation, deliberately and gleefully passed the buck back to the provinces. This retrograde step came to final fruition with P.C. 5963, passed in July,

which in effect makes the provincial boards autonomous except in certain matters clearly specified. Here lies the significance of the local boards basing their decision on the later order in council, though the applications antedated it by four months.

Of course, this policy does not work. Not only the employers, but the regional and national boards, the federal and provincial ministers of labor, are in constant consultation behind the scenes. The contradiction is clearly brought out in the prime minister's letter to Mr. Millard: he states that the cabinet refused to interfere with the decisions of the respective boards, that "the decisions of these impartial agencies are necessarily final," that the matter must be left to the national board or the regional boards, "*whichever has jurisdiction in the case.*" Later on, however, he says "I am sure that the national labor board would be prepared to coöperate with the regional board [of Ontario] in attempting to effect a solution."

As the national board is chaired by the minister of labor, who is a cabinet minister and acts for the government, there seems a contradiction here, in fact two: the provincial boards are either autonomous and their decisions final, or they are not; and the government, through its minister of labor, either is willing to interfere or it is not. It is very significant that the P.M. mentions only the Algoma plant, and says not a word about Sydney, and equally significant that he ignores completely the suggestion for a national conference. He is, in fact, trying to keep the disputes apart. The whole letter, with its confusing statements, irrelevancies, and deliberate omissions, is so typical of Mackenzie King that one is tempted to believe he wrote it himself.

The union's contention that steel should be regarded as a national industry, as shipping is, is surely well founded. The government has not a leg to stand on. Its attitude can be accounted for only as part of its consistent opposition to the growth and development of genuine trade unionism, especially in new fields.

We may note that to the extent that the same commission is to deal with *both* disputes, and all phases of them, the men have secured a partial victory on this point.

Higher Wage Rates?

The chief demand of the steelworkers is an increase in the basic wage rate to 55c an hour. The present rates in the industry vary from one place to another, but are all low: it is 43½ in Sydney; in Trenton, N.S., it is 42c; in Montreal 35c; in Hamilton 46½c; in Sault Ste. Marie 45½c.

Across the line, in the States, it is 78c, while in the Canadian automobile and shipbuilding industries the basic rates vary from 65 to 85c an hour.

While it is not clear what proportion of the workers are paid the basic rate only, undoubtedly many are, and thus draw a pay envelope, even at fifty hours a week, of between twenty and twenty-four dollars, some even less. Well over 40 percent receive less than 55c an hour.

The workers have not been slow to point out that when, in the time of Mr. MacLarty, the cost of living bonus began to be paid, it was argued that it should be paid only on that portion of a man's wages with which he bought the necessities of life. This was taken to be, on the average, \$25 per week, so that for every rise of a full percent in the cost of living, one percent of \$25 was paid. But here are men, in a key industry, a heavy industry, doing obviously exacting work for wages well below the \$25 per week required for the necessities of life.

Such a situation shows up the weakness of the government's policy of freezing all wages at the levels of a certain date. It is true that the machinery of the boards leaves room for readjustments, but these are so hedged in with restrictions that they are difficult to obtain, and in any case adjustments are forbidden where other wages in the same locality are equally low. This is no way to maintain morale.

All that is very unfortunate, we are told, but it is necessary to avoid inflation. A little reflection will show that this is a fallacy. In the first place, the steel industry is one of relatively high profits, and there is every probability that it could absorb the difference. It is then only a matter of one group of people getting a little more, and another group a little less, of the goods available, a slight readjustment in the distribution of available goods, the danger of inflation being null or infinitesimal.

In any case, if we look beyond mere money, the problem is that there is only a limited amount of consumer goods available. It is essential to ensure, by price control, by rationing, and by equitable distribution of income, that these goods be distributed as fairly as possible. The question then is, does \$20 to \$23 a week assure an average family a fair share of the available goods at present prices, especially in the industrial centres where these men work? If it does not, then a readjustment must be made. Wage control is only one factor, by no means the most important, in the control of inflation. There is also price control, taxation, rationing and the rest. Wage control, in fact should be used upwards as well as down, to ensure a fair and equitable distribution of the goods available. That is the goal to which all these measures are the means. And that goal is not reached by condemning men to live, for the duration

of the war, at wage levels which do not allow them the necessities of life.

The Government's Tactics

It is indeed a pity that the government shows itself so unwilling to listen to the representations of the workers until they threaten to strike, indeed on many occasions, as we have seen in the past, until they have actually walked out. A pity, too, that its ministers always choose the very moment of delicate negotiations to take repressive measures. They seem to believe that the best way to start negotiations is to flourish a big club in front of the other fellow's face.

I have already referred to Mr. Mitchell's blustering threats during that fateful weekend. The same minister published, on Aug. 31, new regulations for selective service, one of which said that no person would be permitted to remain "voluntarily unemployed" (on strike?) and that "any person not working full time for a period of two weeks or more can be ordered to take full-time suitable work." This may only have been an unfortunate coincidence, the order might not be meant to apply to strikers, but the government has such a habit of publishing orders in council in the middle of a ticklish dispute, that one inevitably becomes suspicious.

Worst of all, and this seems completely incredible, except that it happened, while the men's representatives were actually in Ottawa in negotiations with the government, this same government applied for that injunction against them. The government could not act differently if they were actually trying to provoke trouble. Such actions, such methods and such timing seem to be more suitable to an agent provocateur.

I should also mention that amazing appeal to Philip Murray to please intervene in a Canadian strike. Actually, of course, Murray has no power to intervene, and after all the talk we've heard of 'foreign agitators' from across the border, this appeal was as funny as it was futile and undignified. Actually, Mr. Murray answered politely that he thought the national conference suggested by the men was a good idea. He is not reported to have said anything about wages (how could he, as an American?) but he must have thought quite a lot.

Surely the government must know that in a democracy the collaboration of the unions should be welcomed, and indeed sought; that labor organization is essential to efficient production; that labor relations require the removal of injustices by negotiations, not their perpetuation by ukases issued from behind the closed doors of labor boards without ever bringing the parties together, that the



WORKS

CANADIANS Rally to the Call

THE LAND you love at the feet of the Nazi? Your soul revolts at the very thought of it. Perhaps you refuse to believe it possible. Yet that does not alter the fact . . . we *could* lose this war. To realize it is the first *sure* step to victory.

In this critical hour, Canada needs all loyal sons and daughters to rally to her aid. The dauntless courage of her fighting men, the skill of her workers, the might of her resources, alone, will not suffice. On you and on every civilian, man or woman, she lays a definite responsibility.

Your country does not ask too much—to work, to save and to put every dollar you can into Victory Bonds. Is this too high a price to pay in your allegiance to the fairest land on earth—too high a cost for the priceless heritage of freedom she has given you? Is it too much to ask that you help provide our fighting men with the arms without which valour is of no avail? There is only one answer.

You will be laying up for yourself the best of all investments—VICTORY BONDS are backed by all the resources of the Dominion of Canada; they yield a fair rate of interest; you can borrow against them and they are readily saleable when you need the cash.

SAVE...LEND

day is passing when labor could be blustered down, or ruled by keeping it divided.

Public Opinion And Politicians

It may be that something will be achieved, for public opinion is awakening at last. The prime minister's threat that if the workers went on strike "I am sure they would forfeit the sympathy of the people generally," is getting rapidly out of date, for the people generally have had some bitter experiences of their own. Certainly they do not want strikes, but they are more inclined to look where the real responsibility lies.

The proof of this awakening is the recent, and indecently sudden, conversion (up to a point) of old party stalwarts in labor matters. We have these last few weeks seen two startling examples of this. One was the conference of Conservative "laymen" at Port Hope. They evolved a labor policy of their own, which, with a few significant differences, was taken holus bolus from current C.C.F. literature. The fun will begin when they start forcing this on their "professionals." That battle should be worth watching, especially for those who can appreciate shadow-boxing.

The other startling spectacle is the sight of Mitchell Hepburn promising labor legislation, including union recognition, collective bargaining and half a dozen other things, to Ontario. Details are carefully avoided, but Mr. Heenan, the provincial minister of labor, assures us that it is going to be the best bill ever! The legislation is, of course, secondary, the promise may be good enough for an election.

These curious happenings have certainly not escaped the notice of Mr. Mackenzie King, and he, that ace among politicians, is no doubt considering the advisability of doing something about it himself. All this, of course, brings new dangers. The Conservative party, Mr. Hepburn for certain and Mr. King above all, will attempt to sidetrack this new sympathy with labor. Their legislation, if it should ever come, will be typical of them, and will certainly, I believe, embody new and subtle ways of establishing and protecting company unions to the detriment of genuine trade unionism. And after that, the laws still have to be applied. We may remember the relevant example of section 502A of the criminal code in this connection.

However, it may be that the common people, having awakened, may decide to stay awake. And that would be very awkward for the Conservative party, for Mr. Hepburn, and for Mr. King.

Uncle Sam Wades In

Samuel Levenson

A SHORT TIME AGO, the Office of War Information, headed by Elmer Davis, announced that the United States was, as yet, only ankle-deep in the war. No one here doubts it, but the statement could certainly bear elaboration.

In the first place, there are millions of people up to their necks in the war. Everyone with a son, brother, husband, sweetheart or relative in our swelling armed forces is well aware that a war is on. As more men (and women too) put on uniforms, our war effort is certain to increase. In a way, universal conscription has become a guarantee of universal patriotism. Nor does anyone working long hours and weeks in war factories and shipyards need to be told that more effort is needed.

The Italians and Germans resident in this country, the Japanese on the west coast who have been transplanted inland, the Anglophobes and the American fascists of the Pelley type have no illusions either. There has been no wave of popular sentiment directed against our enemy aliens, but they are having trouble finding and keeping jobs, and they are constantly aware that a slip of the tongue could land them at any moment in the hands of the F.B.I. The Coughlinites and Pelleyites have been driven completely underground, and several notorious American fascists, including Pelley himself, have been sent to jail. It may be that these people have been sentenced more or less unconstitutionally, but no one seems to care. I think we liberals may as well realize right now that when a country is fighting for its existence, civil liberties are going to be the first victims and there's no use arguing about it. That's the way the people want it, and that's what they're going to have.

That doesn't mean that the American people are fighting the war with any great amount of enthusiasm. As a matter of fact, most of us are still trying to live like civilians. Some are hoarding food, others are trying to chisel on gas rations, and still others are trying to find a soft, safe and profitable spot in the war program. These people are getting fewer and fewer, but at this writing they are still in the majority.

I don't think they are wholly to blame. The fault lies mainly with the government, which itself hesitates to get tough. It is afraid to carry through an adequate rationing program, it has developed no overall manpower mobilization plan, it has failed

to freeze prices on farm products, it has not ordered compulsory savings, it has not settled the synthetic rubber question. In regard to the last, the crass truth is that, while Standard Oil battles independent oil companies and large grain producers to maintain its grip on this post-war gold mine, the government futilely waves its hand in the air and says, "There, there, boys, let's talk it over!"

All this is linked to the larger questions as to what kind of war this is, what are we fighting for, what kind of post-war world do we want. The American people are simply not taking seriously the well-intentioned guff about the Atlantic charter, the four freedoms and the war for civilization. They accept the war as necessary for survival and are anxious to get on with it, but, with the exception of the groups I have listed, their heart isn't in it. They are not convinced that this is really a people's war, a war for a better world, a war to ameliorate the lot of the common man.

The more democratic elements in this country are hopefully trying to hypnotize themselves into the belief that the vice-president's vision of the future will be attained, that the Atlantic charter means what it says, that the Negroes are gradually securing an equal status, that anti-Semitism is on the wane. They are finding little enough evidence to go on. There is going to be no sharp break between the era of war and the era of peace; the kind of war we fight will determine the kind of peace we will get; and the kind of war we are fighting is not yet a people's war. American liberals deplore the 'school tie' stranglehold on the British military, but they do not realize that the caste system of our own brass hats is almost equally pernicious. The positions of influence and power in the war effort are being secured by the very same persons who managed to get them in peacetime.

On the other hand, there are plenty of indications that the old system is still with us. For three years we were told that Britain, under the impact of war, was evolving into a democracy far ahead of ours. Then came the jailing of Gandhi and Nehru and "rioting" in India. The whole thing is appallingly reminiscent of what took place in Ireland after the Easter rebellion of 1916, and the results are equally sure. All a good Indian nationalist has to pray for now is that Gandhi be executed, for then Indian freedom would be gained within a year. This, unfortunately, is not the attitude of the American people as a whole. They are confused, dismayed, uneasy in their consciences about what is happening to India, but they and their government do not know what attitude to take.

For the Americans are a parochial people,

ignorant of foreign affairs, and consequently hesitant about taking a stand. You cannot find one American in a dozen who can tell you how many provinces there are in Canada, or who can name a single official outside of Camacho in the Mexican government. America is expected by Roosevelt, Willkie and others to play a leading role in forming the post-war world, yet the American people are hopelessly ignorant of matters even in our own hemisphere. In part, this is an educational matter—our textbooks and teachers have fallen down on the job—but there are no signs that the government is taking the lead in acquainting us with our friends in other countries.

Returning to the home front again, a few of us see looming up in the distance a knock-down struggle between the apostles of the "American Century," American imperialism in a new dress, and the apostles of Wallace and his dream of a better economic order. The latter are losing. Fed by enormous war contracts, the monopolists are entrenching themselves for a New Order when a few dozen American corporations will divide the earth. Unless we wake up, the post-war disillusionment is going to make aspirin the most precious commodity in the post-war world.

Now for a few odds and ends. Practice air raids are being observed with great conscientiousness... Women are entering the factories in great numbers, but many more will be needed... Every American is sure that we are going to win the war. No American is sure that we will win the peace... American labor is being so good it hurts. As its reward, the press is still seizing every opportunity to attack the most trivial of labor stoppages (there are no "strikes"). No one, particularly the Communists, is pointing out that labor is heading toward what used to be called "class collaborationism," but the silence of the labor unions concerning every domestic and foreign issue of importance is not, to me at least, a cheerful sight... Much to the disgust of the New Dealers and Mr. Willkie, many isolationist congressmen are being retained in office. Apparently, the voters do not consider isolationism in itself a crime sufficient to depose a congressman... The results of our salvage campaigns are spotty. The people are willing enough, but the lack of organization at the top is taking the heart out of them... The only light in an ever more reactionary press is the continued existence of PM, the New York newspaper that does not accept advertising... The movies have gone to war in a big way, but still not as big as the salaries of the producers... In the larger cities, horse-drawn taxicabs are no longer a novelty. However, in the opinion of this correspondent, the horse will never replace the old-fashioned automobile.

Reflections at a Movie

Northrop Frye

WAS IT NOT that quaint old forgotten author, Karl Marx, who said that new instruments of production are the causes of cultural changes? At any rate the movie and its ally, the radio, have made a very considerable one. Fifteen years ago, when movies were silent and the radio a squalling infant, Calvin Coolidge was in the White House. This gentleman, never having anything to say, seldom opened his mouth, and when he did open it a noise like the cry of the great bronzed grackle in the mating season emerged. This inability to talk was one of his chief political assets, for he lived at a time when a president was merely an idol carried in the processions of big business. In those days fluent and ready speech was associated with high-pressure salesmen, and rhetoric in consequence distrusted: even patriots did not take the Fourth-of-July orator very seriously. Today the uvula is mightier than the tank: Churchill's and Roosevelt's speeches have been major military operations, and in former years an alleged cancer on Hitler's throat gleamed like the Star of Bethlehem to exasperated democrats. Rhetoric and oratory are back again to stay, and the radio and the movie have brought them back.

All over Canada, and America, of course, the old regime still lingers. Children are taught to read and write, but the manner of speech is left to original sin. To the average Canadian or American, cultivating an accent means cultivating an English accent, and anyone who does that is a sissy, a snob and a hypocrite. The fact that it is far better to cultivate an English accent than not to cultivate an accent at all is quite lost on him. The result is painful but ubiquitous. Untold millions of Americans tawk through their nowses and hawnk like fahghorrns; some whine like flying shells; some splutter and gargle like cement mixers. The average American pronunciation of "yes" or "now" is hardly a human sound at all. Bad speakers, however, are not yet outcasts; they are not yet in the position of the stinking innocents of the soap ads, whose friends can smell them but can't tell them. We are all in the same boat. I have a grating and monotonous voice myself, and am unusual only in being aware of it. Education simply leaves the voice alone: there are "rhetoric" courses in American universities, but the university is both too late and too exclusive. But the day of judgment on the corncrake and the hyena is at hand. It is no longer true that every American boy has a chance to become president: he has a chance only if

he can attain mastery of the air, and he can do that only by learning to talk. If he is to persuade the voters that he is a reincarnation of Lincoln, he must forget about jokes and split rails and log cabins and concentrate on Lincoln's magnificent oratorical style.

Much of the now obsolete distrust of oratory was well-founded, and it is only now emerging from its Neanderthal stage of Fascist rabble-rousing. Even Hitler is far less of a screaming ham than he used to be, however, and we are now able to see more clearly what the radio and movie are doing for literature. A respect for rhetoric implies a close affinity between the spoken and the written language, and through the two chief mediums of it we are gradually becoming more aware of the sounds and rhythms of our own speech. One of the main reasons for the immense ascendancy of *Huckleberry Finn* in American literature is that it is the only book of its time written throughout in authentically American language. Not until Dos Passos, Steinbeck and their better contemporaries is there a systematic attempt to get away from a conventional literary English for narration and description—and these writers reached maturity with the talking picture and the radio. It is the same in poetry. Poetry has for a long time been afraid of rhetoric, and in consequence has got badly bogged down in the book. Minor poets have largely lost even the ambition, let alone the ability, to imitate the roll and sweep of major poetry. For the poetry of Homer, Shakespeare and Co. is not a lot of lines on a page: it is something to walk down street keeping time to, something to bellow when you're drunk. If you try to walk down street marching to Amy Lowell or get drunk and try to bellow the *Spoon River Anthology*, you will see what I mean by the decline of rhetoric. Yet this state of things cannot survive the era of the sound track and the radio play, and our more interesting poets are slowly abandoning the subtle shuffle of Rozinante for the bucking of Bucephalus.

The moral for Canadians is quite simple. Fifteen years is not a long time, geologically speaking, and with increased practice in listening to the sounds and rhythms of speech, we may in another fifteen years begin to find out what our language is. Canadians speak American. There is no Canadian accent or idiom, at least none common to all nine provinces, and British English, apart from a few cloistral schools, is as foreign to Canadians as Erse. Official documents still require "our" spellings and school teachers still insist that whenever there is a difference of usage the English form is the right one, if we can only remember which it is. (Check your guess on "schedule" with the dictionary.) But none of this has the slightest

effect on the spoken language. A school teacher is often not aware that she makes no attempt to speak the language she teaches, and would be quite capable of saying: "Now tomorrow we will go on to the lesson on shall and will, as I would like to finish it by Friday." The various people who sound off about the danger of Americanizing our speech always make their protests in the purest American, and a Daughter of the Empire would have arrived at a fantastic pitch of imperialism before she would say petrol for gas or wireless for radio. Now this simple fact, instantly obvious to any Canadian, has not yet, with a few honorable exceptions, been digested by Canadian writers. Most of our poets give up the problem of language entirely and retreat into the lyric, where they can write in poetic diction to their heart's content. I open Marjorie Pickthall at random and my eye falls on the word "byre." No Canadian farmer calls his cowshed a byre; why should a Canadian poet avoid the usage of her own country? And if a Canadian novel or short story happens to be dull or commonplace, it is often so not from a lack of imagination, but from a lack of courage and confidence in taking hold of the language.

The radio and the movie are dramatic forms, and the drama is simply integrated rhetoric: one of its chief functions is to bring together the spoken and written language in some sort of unity. There will always be a certain looseness in speech and a certain convention in writing, but the wide gap between standard American and what Mencken calls the "vulgate" is decadent, and partly the result of a dead theatre. Movie actors and radio speakers from Roosevelt down will have to take the lead in establishing a normal speech which is free and colloquial and at the same time good enough to be a basis for writing. This involves the larger problem, one of the most important of our post-war reconstruction jobs, of establishing cultural standards which are not based either on class distinctions, as in Britain, or on an intellectual minority, which is our problem. This latter is the cause of the unnatural union of slovenly speech and free education. The American vulgate-speaker does not say "throwed" because no one has told him that "threw" is the accepted form. He says "throwed" because he knows damn well that "threw" is the accepted form. Nine-tenths of "bad" grammar is a deliberate and conscious (or half-conscious or subconscious or unconscious, whatever your private psychological myth may be) variation of a known standard. The variation does not always originate directly, of course, with the user of it, but it is in his background. He feels that a consistent use of standard speech, while it would certainly be "talking good grammar," would

also be stilted and formal; it would sound stuck-up and make his friends nervous.

The standard of correctness, then, is established by a small group, written down in grammars, taught at school and university, and evaded by a working majority of speakers. This is an impossible situation: rights and wrongs in speech should be established by general usage. But general usage at present seems to have little ambition beyond altering a tacitly accepted standard. The use of "throwed" for "threw" does not mean that ordinary speech tends to change strong verbs into weak ones: if standard speech requires "dived" the vulgate will have "dove." Toronto street car conductors almost always announce Elm Street as "ellum," but I heard one, directly after doing so, pronounce "borrowed" as "bor'd," showing phonetically the reverse tendency. If standard speech calls for "I began" and "I've begun," the vulgate will have "I begun" and "I've began." Wherever there is a feeling of cultural inferiority there will be this parody of accepted forms: Huckleberry Finn says "skiff" and "raft;" Jim says "skift" and "raff." A grocery clerk once said to me: "it doesn't make any difference," and then at once corrected himself to: "it don't make no difference." He felt that the latter form was more pungent and direct, and he may well have been right. But this antithesis of "correct" speech and effective speech evidently should be overcome as far as possible.

The movies, and even to some extent the radio, are doing this in their own way. The boys and girls who want to model their lives on their movie heroes will at any rate have to listen to them talk. Their voices, if not actually pleasant, are at least intelligible, which is a good deal; and movie dialogue, while seldom interesting in itself, is at least recognizable as the spoken language. The more dignified movie characters, of course, speak infinitely better than the average American, and the speech of the latter is generally represented by the comic characters. There is, therefore, a slight but significant pressure of ridicule on the gum-choked whinnies of the American adolescent. And on such bases a new sense of the importance of the sound of the voice, the choice of the words, and the rhythm of the speech, is bound to grow, and bound to wake up literature. Where should we be today if we had been offered blood, toil, tears and perspiration?

Distribution of the National Income in Canada

Eugene Forsey

PREVIOUS ARTICLES in these columns have dealt with the distribution of income in the Maritime Provinces, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia. In this article an attempt will be made to present the picture for the country as a whole.

Taking 1926 as 100, and allowing for changes in the price level, national income per capita reached a high of 109 in 1929, fell to 73.6 in 1933 (that is, about two-thirds of the 1929 level), and remained below 100 till 1940, when it reached 107.2. These figures are obtained by dividing through by the retail price indices. If we divide instead by the special index of the general price level used by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in its reports on the Equation of Exchange, the 1929 figure is 103.8, the 1933 low 71.6, and the 1940 figure only 98.7. In short, national real income in 1939, and perhaps even in 1940, had failed to keep up with the growth in population, let alone make up the staggering losses suffered during the depression.

Bond interest and dividends (in terms of 1926 retail prices) reached a high of 131.6 in 1930, about 12 percent above 1929. In 1931 they were still about eight percent above 1929. In 1933, when they touched bottom, they were only about seven percent below 1929. In 1936 they rose again above 1929, and in 1937 reached a new high, 13.5 percent above 1929. In 1938-1940 they varied from 3.5 to 10.4 percent above 1929.

Net farm income in 1926 was nearly three and a half times, in 1928 about three and a third times, as large as bond interest and dividends. In 1931, bond interest and dividends were over eight percent larger than farm income (which, be it remembered, included cash and kind). In 1932, bond interest and dividends were almost a third larger than farm income, and in 1933 still slightly larger. From 1936 and 1938, farm income was about 80 percent larger than bond interest and dividends, in 1939 about two and a third times as large, in 1940 about two and a sixth times as large. In 1932, at the bottom of the agricultural depression, net farm real income was only 21.3 percent of its 1928 peak (which had been about 15 percent above 1926). From 1931 to 1935, inclusive, it was well below half of the 1928 figure, in 1930, 1936 and 1937 not much above half. In 1939 it touched almost three-quarters of 1928, in 1940 fell back again to about two-thirds.

Total salaries and wages combined rose in 1929 to 122.2 percent of 1926, then fell to a low of 91 in 1933 (slightly less than three-quarters of 1929). In 1935 they were once more above 1926, in 1937 slightly above 1929. After a slight recession in 1938, they rose again in 1939 to 4.5 percent above 1929, and in 1940 to 14.3 percent above 1929.

Total salaries in manufacturing (including dry cleaning and power laundries) reached, in 1929, 123.4 percent of 1926; fell slightly in 1930; rose in 1931 to 135.6 (almost 10 percent above 1929); reached a new high in 1935 at 142.9; and continued to advance steadily to 197.5 in 1940. At no time, except in 1930 (when they were about two percent below 1929) did they fall to the 1929 figure, and in 1940 they were 60 percent above it. *Total wages in manufacturing*, on the other hand, reached a peak of 124.8 in 1929, dropped to 79.7 in 1933 (about 36 percent below 1929), and have only twice since, down to 1940, risen above the 1929 level: in 1937, when they were about five percent above it, and in 1940, when they were nearly 30 percent up. In other words, it was only in the first year of the war that they were appreciably larger than in the pre-depression year. The contrast with salaries is very striking, with bond interest and dividends hardly less so. At the bottom of the depression, salaries in manufacturing were almost three percent above 1929, wages were 36 percent below 1929, and bond interest and dividends were about seven percent below 1929.

Total salaries in mining rose steadily till 1931, when they stood at 131.5 percent of 1926 (or nearly seven percent above 1929). In 1933, when they touched bottom, they were rather more than three percent below 1929. In 1934 they touched a new peak, almost 12 percent above 1929; and they continued to increase till, in 1938 and 1939, they were more than double 1926 and about one and two thirds times as large as in 1929. *Total wages in mining*, on the other hand, reached a peak of 133.3 percent of 1926, in 1929; fell to a low of 90 in 1932 (about a third below 1929); rose slightly in 1933; reached a new peak only in 1936 (two years later than salaries), at 151.1 percent of 1926, or 13.4 percent above 1929. In the three following years they rose steadily, except for a minor recession in 1938; but the increase lagged behind that in salaries, and in 1939 wages were only 44.3 percent above 1929.

Taking *manufacturing and mining together*, and eliminating duplication, we find: to 1929, total salaries and total wages rose about equally, wages slightly faster. In that year, both were about a quarter higher than in 1926. In 1930 salaries

dropped slightly more than two percent, wages more than 11 percent. In 1931 salaries were more than nine percent *above* 1929, wages over 22 percent *below* it. In 1932, salaries were still almost six percent *above* 1929, wages almost 33 percent *below* it. In 1933 salaries were 2.5 percent *above* 1929, wages almost 35 percent *below* it. Salaries reached a new peak in 1935, at 16.3 percent above 1929, and continued to rise till in 1939 they were 51.2 percent above 1929. Wages did not rise above 1929 till 1937, and then only 10 percent. In 1938 they receded to 1.1 percent above 1929, and in 1939 were less than 10 percent above 1929.

Since 1934 it has been possible to secure figures of salaries and wages separately not only for manufacturing, mining and laundries, but also for construction. Taking all of these together, and allowing for duplication, the movement of salaries and wages, in terms of 1934 prices, has been as follows:

| | Total Salaries | Total Wages |
|------|----------------|-------------|
| 1934 | 100 | 100 |
| 1935 | 109.7 | 109.4 |
| 1936 | 117.0 | 118.2 |
| 1937 | 130.0 | 141.0 |
| 1938 | 137.2 | 132.9 |
| 1939 | 144.8 | 140.5 |

This would seem to indicate that, from 1934 to 1937, wages rose rather faster than salaries, and that in 1938 and 1939 the trend was the other way. Leaving out construction the rise in wages was in all five years greater than that in salaries. It should be noted, however, that salaries in 1934 were at a far higher level, compared with 1926 or 1929, than wages; so that, though wages have, roughly speaking, recovered from depression levels at a rate not very different from salaries, or even in some instances rather faster, depression level for salaries was not very different from boom level, while for wages it was far below boom level.

The Case of Mr. Ojibway

Kathleen Coburn

A FEW YEARS AGO Mr. Ojibway built us our Georgian Bay cottage. For his honesty we had the testimony of other cottagers and for his skill the evidence of another cottage up the shore. He built from an architect's blueprints, accurately and neatly, though his formal education consisted of one year or less at the reserve school. "You know," he said, "that book—first primer or whatever it is, we read it over and over and over—so I quit." One of the local dealers tried to discourage us in our choice of builder by hints and insinuations for which we have not found any justification whatever; the local prejudice against employing Indians in any capacity, let alone trusting them with responsibility, is general, deep-rooted, and often without the slightest basis in experience of them and their work. This prejudice has kept Mr. Ojibway and other Indians unemployed in a town desperately in need of builders and carpenters to meet a wartime influx of several thousand newcomers.

This summer Mr. Ojibway greeted us on arrival by flying a huge flag from an improvised flagpole—a Union Jack on a blue ground. His face was a solidified grin as we commented on his little stunt. "Oh, have to keep the old flag flying," he chuckled. "Course—I don't know what kind of flag it is—Chinese maybe, or some other kind—I don't know." This in the presence of several persons in the

bustle of arrival. There was obviously more to come in private, so I asked him later whence and what it was. "It came from British officer at end of war 1812-14," he said. "He gave it to my great-grandfather. He Indian chief. Five flags given at that time and I understand all four others lost now. But what kind of flag it is—I can't find out. Mr. —, he had it in Toronto long time but no one there seem to know." The worried tone suggested the importance attached to the subject but immediately came the gleam of humor in the eyes, "Anyhow, that's *something*, isn't it—to have from the British government?"

Mr. Ojibway had several worries this summer. The dearth of cottagers meant a shortage of work—opening and closing cottages, buildings and dock repairs and the thousand and one jobs that he does as caretaker and handyman for the locality. Not enough work to provide for him but just enough to tie him there. Another worry, even more depressing to him and Mrs. Ojibway was that their weekly letters from their oldest son, in the army, had stopped and they feared (correctly as it proved) that he had gone overseas. "I guess he warned me in a kind of way last time he was home, but he didn't tell us for sure. Guess he knew all right. He just didn't like to say so to us." As far as Mrs. Ojibway is concerned, her son has slipped into a dark abyss of which she knows nothing and can

picture nothing. She only knows that by the old treaties Indians cannot be forced to fight except in defense of Canadian soil, and yet her son has slipped away. She is baffled and grief-stricken. The last word from Pte. Ojibway was that he didn't think he would take his first leave in England, not knowing anyone nor where to go nor how he would be received.

Another worry connected with Pte. Ojibway that bothered his father very much was that all the efforts of his very quick and lively lad to become a corporal had failed. "Not enough school," he says. "But he says to me that rich men's sons come in and don't know anything about the work—my son has to show them—and they get promoted and he doesn't." (He's in a mobile laundry unit.) "Yes, not enough school I guess, but is that all of it do you think?" Mr. Ojibway blames himself somewhat for the academic deficiency, yet at the time the school on the reserve didn't seem to be of much use to him.

Perhaps I can't do better than to give some of Mr. Ojibway's conversation when he and another son came to dinner one night. I have never known a more gracious and easy dinner guest, nor one whose conversation was more interesting. Mr. Ojibway has read practically nothing; his comments were his own well-considered judgments. There were long not-uncomfortable silences and speech was slow and considered during which one could see sheer brain-work fashioning thought and speech out of the raw material. The son was quiet, all eyes, having very little English, but he played a very satisfactory part by beaming over the food and looking lively at all the little jokes. Jokes fly about among Indians (their low musical laughter rippled about the cottage all the time it was building) and even the silent lad, by an almost superhuman effort at speech, made his own little bit of fun. Many an undergraduate would not have made the attempt let alone have achieved his success.

With the grace and tact of his race, Mr. Ojibway looked speculatively at the soup tureens and the table-top, and put the lid carefully on his bread-and-butter plate. "Well," he said, "war looks pretty bad just now." Then a chuckle. "Government's going to take all the money away from people—all the money." Laughter.

"Those of us who have no money needn't worry I suppose," said I, not having seen the papers and the income tax news.

"That's just it—but what'll they do, those rich people, with no money—." More laughter. (Mr. Ojibway has seen many tourists who rely on buying their safety and comfort in the north country.) Then more seriously, "Guess it's really money

they're all fighting about anyway . . ." Pause . . . "You know, the old Indians, they knew about the minerals, gold and so on, but their understanding was, to touch them meant death"—an enquiring look for agreement—"and you know, I think they were just about right." (It was Mr. Ojibway who announced to us the declaration of war in words that deserve to become classic. "What do they want to do it for anyway? Last war didn't settle anything. I don't think this one will either. Only kills a lot of men and makes a lot of work for everybody.")

Mr. Ojibway had something on his mind. "One thing I've been wanting to ask you, and I don't know if I can explain it very well. Just see now if I can . . ." Pause and struggle for English words. Mr. Ojibway's English is well-constructed, as far as it goes. "Well, I tell you. The last few years I have been seeing more, what you might call, higher-class people (cottagers!) and I wonder what you mean—the white man I mean—when you say 'Heaven' and 'Hell'. Do you mean higher-class life and lower-class life?"

What was the answer to that one?

Mr. Ojibway comes of a race of sceptics. His paternal grandfather told him to give up all the old Indian beliefs—medicine man, magic and all. "He just said, 'Not true. Forget them.' " And his maternal grandmother, "She said to me, 'Beware'—is that the word?—'beware the laws of the white man. Trust only so far and no farther.' That bothered me, what she said, it bothered me a lot, till I wrote it down somewhere. Now I don't think about it any more . . . But you've got me started."

We gave him a rest in the interests of his dinner and began telling about canoe trips in a stretch of country not far away. "Oh yes, I know that well. Don't go there any more now. That used to be old Indian hunting ground—my grandmother's people, on my mother's side—but Indians don't go there any more. Guess the farmers don't like it." Then he went into a long history of Indian treaties to explain by what unlucky chances certain tracts of land were transferred to the white man, land originally set aside as Indian hunting grounds, and further he went on to indicate that mystery surrounds the "transfer" of certain territories.

"The trouble with the Indian is," he said, in this and several other connections frequently in the course of the evening, "the trouble with the Indian is he doesn't trust his own understanding. I always say we should try to understand our own language, our own understanding; but one Indian goes to one white man and is told one thing, another Indian will go to another white man and he is told another thing, and they believe them, and then

Indian doesn't know what to believe. Doesn't know where he is at all. I think we should know our own meaning of things."

Talk turned to religion, and the division between Roman Catholic and Protestant Indians. Mr. Ojibway can't understand it at all. He is Protestant and described with much humor the efforts of his group to maintain the Puritan Sunday on the reserve, in the face of Roman Catholic gaiety.

"But you know, all those stories in the Bible—we have them. Story of the flood, just almost the same. Remember story about the sun standing still? We have that one, only in old Indian way. Sun was tied to earth by a thread, and Indians sent up little ant to cut through it." Much laughter. "Yes, Indians sent up *little ant*." I am not certain one of the great Indian contributions to our national life, if we ever become enlightened enough to draw upon them, will not be that gift of the comic spirit, a sense of proportion.

I begged Mr. Ojibway to write down all his Indian stories, and the history of land settlements as he understands it, urging that if he did not do so it might all be forgotten. He agreed that he might do it—"but I only know back to 1812, though."

He took a most graceful leave of us. "I don't know what words to use for this evening. I won't forget it." Then a chuckle. "P'raps better write it all down in a book—case it be forgotten"—the Indian reprimand to the short memory of the white man.

What is to be done about Mr. Ojibway—now and in the planned, post-war world? Can we sensibly condemn the depressed status of East Indians and Africans while Mr. Ojibway subsists with no security whatever—economic, social, moral or any other kind—and with no political voice to speak for him in the administration of his affairs?

O Canada

So we are to love our enemy. Not only that, we are to embrace him as an erring brother returned to the fold. We are to kiss him on both cheeks, bind up his wounds and supply him with spending money. There must be no word of reproof. His sensitive soul must not be rasped by recrimination . . . Thus speak the other-worldly fraternity, of whom there are quite a few in our midst. Far too many, indeed.

(R. T. F. in The Montrealer, July, 1942)

At the moment I think less of the slow steps by which the Indian people have been led forward politically, until the conception of India as a self-governing nation is an immediate possibility, and more of the material progress that she has owed to the British connection. Whatever the future may hold, that advancement will stand to the credit of the British people, who became the rulers of the land, not from any set intention, but because internal anarchy compelled them, in the interests of the trade they

sought, to assume the responsibilities of administration.

(Sir Alfred Watson, in World Dominion, quoted in The Montreal Daily Star, Sept. 5, 1942.)

School children in Canada develop a sense of citizenship at an earlier age than do children in most countries in the opinion of Bedrich Slavicek, consul for Czechoslovakia in Winnipeg. He believes this is a result of Canada being a 100 percent democracy.

(Francis H. Stevens in the Winnipeg Free Press, August 26, 1942.)

State paternalism doubtless has done great things in Russia. Certainly it has created in a people formerly crushed and hopeless a spirit that goes singing even unto death. But we cannot help asking if the individual soul is wholly freed even though food and work, love and security, schooling and recreation are guaranteed.

(From an editorial in Toronto Saturday Night)

A government's incentive in expanding departments and bureaus is political aggrandizement. The war, we hope, is a temporary affair that is not going to build a brand of permanent dictatorship.

(From an editorial in The Globe and Mail)

This month's prize of six months subscription goes to A. R. M. Lower, United College, Winnipeg, Man. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication from which taken.

Now Alone

Now is the time, old man,
Now is the time. No more
Of the looking back on the land
And the spring; nor before
On the stark unpleasingness
Of dry disintegration,
Paling into the nothingness
Of death and soul migration;
Hold still the shaking hand,
Now is your time, old man.

This is the day, young girl
This the day. Nor frown
For the lad that's to whirl
Your skirt and heart around;
Nor the child to come and steal
The songs and curvings of that
Pear-shaped world that feels
But the need of filling out
A man's love of limb and curl;
This is your day, young girl.

And this the moment, little child,
This the hour. Not tomorrow
With its growth to tame the wild
Possessing love, and bringing sorrow.
Now hear the sounds and songs
Of first seeings; here and there
Is all the same—the throngs
Of crowds and things—and care
A far-off mile away, beguiled;
Seize your moment little child.

JAMES McDERMOTT

Advertising and the War

COMMENT HAS ALREADY been made in the pages of *The Canadian Forum* on the waste of public money, and private money, on advertising during the present critical times. Our readers will require no argument to convince them of the unpardonable waste that continued advertising is causing, waste that compares so strikingly with the sacrifices being made by most of the citizens of this land. Apparently the anomalous position that they occupy has at last penetrated to the minds of advertising executives, with the result that the pages of the daily press have in the course of the last few months contained repeated defenses of advertising. Some of these statements have been moderate and well-reasoned; others have been the reverse, although made by responsible persons. The time will come when it will be possible to consider again advertising and its relation to the social well-being of Canada, and as a reference for that time there has been assembled the following collection of extracts from press reports of speeches on advertising, and written defenses of its wartime practice. They are published almost without comment; appropriate comment, on some of them at least, would strain the resources of the editorial pen to the limit.

One of the first items to be noted after discussion of advertising became really critical was an item in *Saturday Night* for March 21, 1942, written by P. A. Richards, assistant and business editor of that publication. "It is reported," wrote Mr. Richards, "that the government thinks there is too much advertising being done and intends to curtail it. As newspapers and periodicals live mainly by advertising, a blow at advertising would, of course, be a direct blow at the press. Presumably the government has considered this. But has it considered the additional fact that curtailment of advertising would be an indirect blow at the war effort, the national welfare, business, and post-war reconstruction?" The writer proceeds to discuss governmental advertising, and then says "... business must educate the public regarding the place of private enterprise in a democratic economy if it wants to survive post-war socialistic upheavals. If it neglects to do this, or is prevented from doing it, not only business but the whole of society will suffer. Advertising is the most effective tool for these purposes because it is free from the taint of propaganda; it is frankly an effort to win a reader to a certain point of view . . . The fact is that advertising is the biggest single factor in promoting business and social progress in peacetime, and can render even more important service in war."

On March 26 Mr. Morgan Eastman addressed the Toronto Progress club on the subject of advertising; possibly he was inspired by what Mr. Richards had written, for he is reported in *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto) to have said in the course of his address that he could truthfully say that "I do not know of a single national advertiser who has used 'excessive' or 'unreasonable' advertising in an attempt to evade taxation." Discussing income tax requirements, not then clarified, Mr. Eastman proceeded to say that "A great many businesses can prove that the costs in time and money, as well as in servicing, which is a part of selling, have actually been higher in selling the government business than it would be in securing private business." The speaker went on to ask "Could it be that this policy is inspired by the breath of the big bad wolf—personified by the C.C.F.—hot on the neck of our government. It would appear that way, as I can see no difference between confiscation of plant or capital and the confiscation of goodwill—of the three, goodwill is the most difficult and costly to replace."

Editor and Publisher had its quota to add to the discussion; an article in that paper was reprinted in *The Gazette* (Montreal) for March 30, 1942. This contained the admission that "Every recognized advertising agency in the dominion has had its part in the preparation of advertising copy not only for war finance but for a wide variety of government activities . . . That point raises a question which several correspondents have put to *Editor and Publisher*—the danger of government influences over editorial freedom through great advertising patronage. Canada has answered that question. There is a specific agreement between government and the publishers, through the National War Finance Committee, that editorial freedom shall be in no way affected by the advertising. It has not been. Canadian journalism is as free and critical today as it ever was . . . There is no better way to mobilize mass public opinion than through advertising in all recognized media, with newspapers at the top of the list."

Charles R. Vint, president of Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Company Ltd., has even grander ideas as to the place of advertising in war. In the *Toronto Star* for May 6 he is reported to have told the Kiwanis Club of Toronto that "advertising has an important part to play in winning the war. It is reasonable to say that if publicity in the form of propaganda has played such an important part in paving the way for German war organization and enemy morale, then, by the law of reversal, it could conceivably be one of the deciding factors in victory for the United Nations. Complete victory will not have been won by force of arms. The

false doctrine of the Axis powers must be destroyed in the minds of the Axis people. They must be made aware of the benefits of personal liberty and justice . . . Only skilful use of the tools of advertising and publicity can accomplish such a task."

One of the first important government spokesmen to deal with this matter recently was Mr. Hugh A. Mackenzie, of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. Addressing the Montreal Advertising and Sales club on May 13 he is reported in *The Gazette* (Montreal) to have told his audience that "the effort and outlay once lavished on competitive sales advertising could soundly and desirably be diverted into telling the public why such curtailments and changes were necessary (in wartime) . . . Let's stop fighting our Canadian rival, and see if we cannot use the powerful and valuable weapon forged in the laissez-faire period for the great purpose of unifying the Canadian people and directing their efforts toward the one objective." Mr. Mackenzie did, however, go on to suggest that "with some exceptions, advertisers do not realize the duty and opportunity facing them." Two days later, Mr. Wellington Jeffers used almost the whole of his double column in *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto) to quote from Mr. Mackenzie's speech, prefaced with some comment of which this is a sample: "To me, advertising has never been so interesting, so sincere, and so vital as it has been this year. More and more the companies and institutions of Canada address their friends and customers in friendly and frank fashion, telling them . . ."

On May 27, the official statement of Revenue Minister Gibson, with regard to advertising allowance in income tax returns, was made public. The minister explained, in his statement, that "The first tendency is on the part of business to allocate a considerable part of their normal advertising to the furtherance of patriotic purposes . . . This action is greatly appreciated, and the expenditure so incurred has been admitted as a legitimate expense. There are, however, other businesses which have expanded their advertising expenses far beyond the normal, and beyond what would be a normal expansion for greatly increased business. Many of these companies realize that they are in the 75 percent scale of taxation and that the added expenditure is using the potential moneys of the Crown—potential in that if they were not so used they would be paid into the exchequer by way of taxes." The minister finally gave notice that "while national or patriotic advertising will be admitted as an expense incurred for the purpose of earning income, all excessive advertising expenditures will be disallowed in determining taxable income."

Mr. Charles R. Vint, in his capacity as chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Association of Canadian Advertisers Inc., interviewed Mr. C. Fraser Elliot, commissioner of income tax, with reference to the interpretation of Mr. Gibson's statement, and wrote an explanatory letter which was widely commented on in the press. Again, Mr. Wellington Jeffers devoted almost the whole of his double column on the financial page of *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto) to advertising, using Mr. Vint's letter as his text, this being in the issue of June 13; he concluded his eulogy with these revealing words: "Mr. Vint in his letter offers full coöperation of the association to the department. That is important, because its members control most of the advertising expenditures which support the newspapers, radio, magazines and periodicals of Canada . . . These services play a very important part in the welfare of all Canadians, thus advertising not only keeps the wheels of industry turning, but it gives the people of Canada the very best in news and entertainment for a very small part of its basic cost."

Finally, as a slightly less serious conclusion to this recital, record must be made of this statement by Mr. Elton Johnson to the Canadian Women's Press Club at Niagara Falls, on June 25, reported in *The Gazette* (Montreal) for the day following: "Advertising appropriations should largely be used in putting over those factors which will help the home front do its part in winning the war. The whole morale of the country depends on the women, because it is certainly the women who will see to it that their menfolk will save enough money to pay their income tax. Anything that advertisers can do to instruct women in more intelligent shopping and careful conservation of what they have in their homes is the wartime duty of advertisers."

Verbum sat sapienti.



BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Poetry

OUR LADY PEACE AND OTHER WAR POEMS: Mark van Doren; New Directions, pp. 28; \$1 (U.S.A.).
POEMS: John Berryman; New Directions; pp. 26; \$1.00 (U.S.A.).

A POET TODAY is usually a cultured liberal intellectual: that's his union card, the caste mark in his forehead. He usually writes lyrical poetry about war and Fascism, and he usually deprecates them. I happen to have the same caste mark, and by virtue of it I have patiently read, and occasionally reviewed, at least several hundred, if not thousand, lyrics by which members of this caste communicate to one another in subtly cadenced murmurings the fact that they deprecate war and Fascism. The similarity of all these lyrics in tone, mood, subject and form is so oppressive that the strain of trying to find something new to say about two more contributions is getting me down.

All the average poet knows about war and Fascism is what he sees in the papers. Yet he feels that he should be much subtler and more profound, that it is his duty to be prophetic, to have a deeper insight into imaginative values than the reporter or civil servant. But what is this deeper prophetic insight based on? Thus saith who, or what? For the average poet has no God and no coherent ideas behind his symbols, and he writes on social themes as a set task. He is anxious for the good of humanity, but is too keenly aware of its actual or latent menaces to be confident or loyal to it. His symbolism and imagery are therefore disjointed and shot out at random into the blue, and his diction becomes an indirect and oblique way of concealing the fact that he has really very little to say. Trees continue to grow and seasons to revolve while men die. So they do. We disagree about the nature of the spiritual world but in wartime most of us feel that there is Something There. Yes, I know. In this world the well-intentioned are often the most confused, and the least confused often have evil and sinister intentions. God, that's true. Once I felt sweet love but now I feel stern necessity and challenge. I'm sure you must. The tone is unvarying, queasily apocalyptic, owlishly oracular, and plaintively querulous.

I am not saying that these two books are bad: I am saying that they are not bad. Where there is no exuberance, there can be no lapses in taste, but only a consistently skilful knack of turning out melodious and readable verses. A glance over the titles, "Crisis," "Epidemic," "Total War," "Defeatist," "New York Unbombed," "River Rouge, 1932," "1 September 1939," "Communist," "The Dangerous Year," will show us what to expect, and we are not disappointed. Mr. van Doren is subtle, scholarly, a faultless technician, and many of his poems have a lovely and delicate fragrance. Mr. Berryman, slightly the more interesting, builds up longer poems of considerable passion and power, and "The Statue" and "At Chinese Checkers" deserve a place in any anthological angelic choir.

What worries me is the assumption implied in the name of the publisher, that all modern poets are pioneers, experimenters and poetic revolutionaries. These two books are not "New Directions": they are contributions, and very typical ones, to the rigorous convention which

has dominated poetry for some years now, the convention of the elegiac lament over contemporary social evils. This convention, from a purely literary point of view, is the most portentous bore since the eighteenth-century pastoral, and we have had enough of it. We don't want posterity to think of us as Britons who prepared for war by painting themselves blue with woe. It isn't technically a good convention: its solemn and resonant tone is apt to become soggy and indigestible with so heavily accented a language as ours. One feels that our poets are being handed the what's-the-use-in-times-like-these line so much that they are beginning to sell out poetry to it.

I don't know why I think of Shelley at this point, but I do. Shelley also deprecated war and Fascism, or what meant Fascism in his time. He yelled and screamed and got hysterical about it; he blithered and spluttered his way through huge sloppy poems with enough bad lines to torpedo an epic; he hawked absurd pamphlets around the streets of Dublin; he made up gross and obscene libels against England's king and government; he fought for pacifism, atheism, revolution, free love, vegetarianism—anything rather than hopeless complaint and constipated elegance. I should like to go and read some Shelley now, if it's all right with everyone. NORTHROP FRYE

PIPES OF PAN: Bliss Carman; Ryerson; pp. 700; \$2.50.

THIS VOLUME contains the books of Bliss Carman which were first published under the separate titles "From the Book of Myths," "From the Green Book of the Bards," "Songs of the Sea Children," "Songs from a Northern Garden" and "From the Book of Valentines" between the years 1894 and 1903.

The classical spirit is evident in most of these five collections. It is evident, not only in the occasional themes from Grecian mythology, but in the sense of words that flow softly and in a firm adherence to form. While this presence of the classical spirit is valuable for its technical discipline and enriching associations it does not form an integral part of our own culture. Pan, Syrinx, Hylas and Daphne do not belong to Canada (except as they may have been brought here by New Canadians of Greek descent) and in these poems they seem to form part of a disunity in the poet's outlook which gives an alien quality to his work.

All the world should be free to a poet, but there is something weak about a poem which betrays an uncertainty of origin. Scattered through "In Grand Pré Garden," for instance, there is a mixture of culture-references, such as,

" . . . my garden floor was founded by the laboring
frugal sea,
Deep and virginal as Eden."

"Humbly, then, most humbly ever, little brothers of
the grass,
With ALOHA at your doorways I salute you as you pass."

"Waiting till our Brother Balder walks the lovely earth
once more."

This is Canada as seen by the cultured tourist, not by the Canadian who knows and loves Canada. Carman, in this respect, is unfriendly. When one would reach out

to grasp his hand he seems to recede and hide among books.

Throughout this 700-page volume there is a prolonged effort toward great poetry, toward the creation of memorable lines and stanzas. Yet a great deal of it strikes me as counterfeit because it is so reminiscent of earlier poetry, particularly that of the nineteenth century. One recognizes the sweetness of Keats, the passionate note of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the mellifluousness of Tennyson. "The Dancers of the Field," for example, is embarrassingly similar to Wordsworth's "Daffodils."

There is also, in these poems, a continual quest for phrases of startling quality, such as "moon-haunted hemlocks", "reedy-marged lagoon", and "gold-belted bees" and this—the mere beauty of a phrase—seems to dominate the intention of his work. It is, perhaps, his most essential poetic contribution, for as a thinker is often commonplace and his emotional force is never overwhelming. He speaks of loving "a wild, melodious note" yet his mood is never more than a gentle kind of wildness. He does not break with poetic form, like Walt Whitman and, on the whole, is too deliberately sweet and songful to stir one deeply.

Despite this misty screen of erudition and imitation something of the Canadian soil and sea did get into his work. Probably he is best known for such short lyrics as "April Weather" where, writing without academic tension, he tells of the desire to take to the road in springtime, in a setting of young trees and distant purple hills. Considered as a minor, rather than a major, poet, he has been a refining, even an elevating, influence in Canadian literature.

But today, when every sentence of the average news dispatch announces the destruction of human life, lyrical poetry of forty years ago which is innocent of any apprehension of tank divisions, incendiary bombs and air-raid shelters seems to belong to a very remote past. We do not see trees and flowers in quite the same way as did the poets of 1903, and in these poems of Bliss Carman one hears the wistful singing of an era that has passed away.

ALAN CREIGHTON

North West Territories

CANADA MOVES NORTH: Richard Finnie; Macmillan; pp. 227; \$4.00.

HERE IS A BOOK that is actually better than the promises of the blurb on the jacket. Perhaps it was inexpedient for the publishers to indicate fully the amount of direct and implied criticism within the covers, of past and present governments, mission work and free competition in commerce in the North-West Territories. Mr. Finnie's denunciation of our treatment of native populations, Indian and Eskimo, is scathing, unsentimental, and very constructive.

He obviously knows the inside story of the administration of the territories but appears to be free to say what he thinks. The important thing is that he sees the problem as a whole, and, after debunking popular misconceptions of the N.W.T., he discusses fur-trading, missions, the growth of transportation facilities, the development of oil and gold and radium mines with their mushroom towns, like Yellowknife, the possibilities of farming and stock-raising, the effects of the white influx on the natives, the actual potential Indian and Eskimo

arts and their general contributions to Canadian life. Grinding no particular axe, Mr. Finnie sees the N.W.T. as country with immediate possibilities and an administrative problem in which several given factors have to be taken into account. Obviously, unless drastic changes come about in the government's attitude toward expending money in a voteless population, the last element to be considered will be the natives and therefore Mr. Finnie has much to say about them. The building of the Alaska highway—begun after the book was written—increases the urgency of the problem.

His main suggestions effect the two vested interests in the north and will not please them: rigorous control of fur-trading and secularization under government agency of all hospitals and schools. Eskimos and Indians must be protected from victimization and proselytizing during a period of adjustment (the Eskimos, as he says, "have stepped right out of the Stone Age into the twentieth century,") until they are re-educated in self-reliance. There should be many more doctors; seven of them now serve about 1,500 patients each, in an area of more than a million square miles. The schools should be day schools, instead of cutting children off at the primitive period from home and native life, as the resident mission schools now tend to do. The aim of native education should be to equip Indians and Eskimos for their own life in the north, and to meet the inevitable inroads of commerce and "civilization." "I do not propose," he says, "that Eskimos and Indians be made to hunt only with bows and arrows . . . As many of them as show inclination and aptitude should be given specialized training in motor mechanics, radio, aviation, medicine, prospecting, etc., (he has elsewhere suggested also nursing and teaching) as well as in reindeer and musk-ox husbandry, so that they may take their place on an equal footing with whites in the development of the resources of the North-West Territories;" and he cites the University of Alaska where, under the U.S. government, something like this is being done.

He suggests also a staff of welfare officers under a superintendent who would spend most of each year, not in Ottawa, but "travelling about the territories by boat, dogteam or airplane, staying with the various field-men long enough to receive and discuss their reports and recommendations." The welfare officers, he believes, "with training in biology, ethnology and sociology, should be completely independent of the missionaries and traders, concerned solely with the well-being of the Indians and Eskimos, living and travelling among them. They should, through education rather than coercion, induce the natives to respect the game regulations (which should be modified in different localities) and work toward the full restoration of the natives' self-respect and independence. They should discourage all anti-social practices without undermining the dignity of aboriginal culture and folkways, at all times guarding the natives against exploitation."

Mr. Finnie has done a valuable, because realistic, work. He doesn't want to turn the clock back. He merely would like the government to take a look at the clock and act accordingly.

The casualness and downright flippancy with which the whole territory is treated in popular thinking and government policy alike is well-symbolized in a story he tells of a bumptious and opinionated woman journalist from the States who tackled an old-timer at Aklavik. "Have you five minutes to spare?" she asked. "I'd like to write the story of your life."

KATHLEEN COBURN

Miscellany

TAP ROOTS: James Street; Longmans, Green & Co. (The Dial Press); pp. 593; \$3.50.

THE INGREDIENTS OF THIS BOOK consist in about equal measure of a "Gone with the Wind" romanticism and a genuine picture of the Southern abolitionist movement, seasoned with a dash of William Faulkner. The love story of Morna Dabney and Keith Alexander, "The Black Knight of Vengeance," is obviously destined to make a spectacular movie if the screen has time to spare these days from the machinations of saboteurs. The Indian, Tishomingo, and the two Negro servants have that brooding sense of race and soil familiar to readers of southern novels but the tale of Hoab Dabney and his final leading of a whole county into secession from the Confederate States is a new and absorbing light on a little publicized bit of American history and this is what makes the book a better than average historical novel. H. J.

BRITISH RULE IN EASTERN ASIA: A study of Contemporary Government and Economic Development in British Malaya and Hong Kong; Lennox A. Mills; Univ. of Minn. Press; \$5.00 (U.S.A.).

ALTHOUGH BRITISH RULE in Eastern Asia has now become a thing of the past, Mr. Mills' book (which was printed before December 7, 1941) has great value both as a historical record of British colonial administration, and as a reference for the inevitable reconstruction in Asia.

Little has been written about either Hong Kong or British Malaya in the last thirty years. To gather his data, the author travelled extensively in both places, had interviews with all classes and nationalities, and studied the reports of all departments of government both in the colonies and protectorates and in England. The result is an excellent study of British colonial government and of economic and social development.

He makes clear the difficulties involved in the governing of such a heterogeneous population as that of Malaya. Only a few felt any loyalty to the country, since such a large proportion of them were there only until they were prosperous enough to return to their homelands—China, India, Europe or America. Yet all felt that their diversified interests and rights should be of paramount importance to government. Hong Kong presented a different but equally complex problem. 96.67 percent of its population was Chinese and its proximity to China meant that the bulk of this population was migratory. To quote Mr. Mills: "The result of the government's policy is that the Chinese feel that Hong Kong has been administered with a proper consideration for their wishes and customs, and that their point of view has received a sympathetic hearing." In the federated and unfederated Malay States, the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong the various forms of government seem gradually to have been adjusted to the times with comparative satisfaction to the majority, and without any notable change in ordinances or constitutional documents.

Social reforms, to a large degree, have only begun in this century. Many of the steps forward had to be made against the wishes of the ultra-conservative Asiatic, whose traditions and superstitions were often in direct opposition to change. In Hong Kong sources of revenue were limited and the consequent lack of money slowed the progress of reform.

The story of the gradual adjustments and developments in politics, trade, medicine and hygiene in these Asiatic states makes interesting reading. The book abounds in careful tables and statistics of trade and commerce, and draws many comparisons between British East Asia and the Philippines and the Dutch Asiatic Empire. Although he only deals briefly with the Japanese menace to either Hong Kong or Malaya, Mr. Mills concludes that all of Asia is in a transition period and only time can tell the outcome. For the period of her government there, Great Britain's colonies and dependencies in East Asia prospered and improved under the security given by British rule. C. B. C.

THE POST-WAR INDUSTRIALIZATION OF CHINA: H. D. Fong; National Planning Association (U. S.); pp. 92; 50c, (paper).

THIS REPRESENTS numbers 12 and 13 of the Planning Pamphlets issued by this association, and presents a hopeful and confident picture of the industrialized China which can result from careful planning, both internal and international, after the war. Dr. Fong is a professor at the Nankai Institute of Economics, and has written numerous monographs on Chinese economics; he seems to have the subject well in hand, and the present work is convincing and well-documented.

There is a good background sketch of China's resources, mineral, agricultural and human; and one is not surprised to find that the author inclines to accept the lowest estimate—25 million acres—stated by any authority as to cultivable land not yet exploited. The fields for industrialization include transport and public utilities, agriculture and industry; these Dr. Fong proceeds to examine and then to outline China's wartime achievements in these fields. He refuses to be optimistic about future exports of tungsten, antimony and tin, largely because of the growing competition in other countries. The chapter on Japan in China shows Japan's aim to be the "complete economic conquest of China." While China must continue to depend largely on foreign investments for the bulk of her capital, these must be on the basis of equal treatment, while the futility of isolation and the need for intelligent international coöperation are essential keynotes in its successful expenditure; also a "thorough-going survey of Chinese resources must precede scientific planning of large-scale developmental projects." Finally the author cautiously points out that "no single form of economic organization—socialism, capitalism or coöperation—will adequately meet the needs of China," and he shows in what fields and in what respects each of these apply now and should continue to apply after the war.

There are useful appendices on China's resources, trade, investments, etc., and a bibliography which would be of value to students in this field. JOHN F. DAVIDSON



Books Received

Nearer the Earth: Beatrice Borst; Macmillan (Random House); pp. 423; \$3.00 (U.S.A.).

Lyttton Strachey: Cyril Clemens; International Mark Twain Society; pp. 17; \$1.25 (U.S.A.).

Town and Forest: Lyon Sharman; Macmillan; pp. 73.

What Have We to Defend?: E. F. M. Durbin; Labor Book Service (London, England); pp. 96; in Canada, 90c to members, \$1.10 for individual copies.

Canada Moves North: Richard Finnie; Macmillan; pp. 227; \$4.00.

Conditions of Peace: Edward Hallett Carr; Macmillan; pp. 282; \$3.50.

Teacher Education in a Democracy at War: Edward S. Evenden; American Council on Education; pp. 118; 75c (U.S.A.).

Thinking for Every Man: A. Gordon Meivin; Longmans, Green & Co. (John Day Co.); pp. 207; \$2.50.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

French Canada and the War: J. S. A. Bois; privately printed (reprint from Second Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, 1942. Houghton Mifflin Co., New York); pp. 9.

First Statement—A Magazine for Young Canadian Writers: John Sutherland, Editor; Vol. 1, Nos. 1 & 2 (Montreal, P.Q.); pp. 9.

Wartime Transference of Labor in Great Britain: Series C (Employment and Unemployment) No. 24; International Labor Office (Montreal, P.Q.); pp. 163; \$1.00.

The Saskatchewan Poetry Book, 1942-43: Saskatchewan Poetry Society; pp. 32; 35c.

The I.L.O. at Work: International Labor Office (Montreal, P.Q.); pp. 40.

An Atlas of the U.S.S.R.: Jasper H. Stembridge; Oxford (No. 27, America in a World at War series); pp. 32; 10c.

Radio in Wartime: Charles Siepmann; Oxford (No. 26, America in a World at War series); pp. 32; 10c.

Contemporary Verse — A Canadian Quarterly: Alan Crawley, Editor; Vol. 1, No. 4 (June, 1942); pp. 18; 25c per copy, \$1.00 per year.

Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland: Univ. of Wisconsin (Study Aid, October, 1941); pp. 21.

Islands of the Pacific: Univ. of Wisconsin (Study Aid, September, 1942); pp. 23.

Food Consumption and Dietary Sur-

veys in the Americas: Robert Morse Woodbury; International Labor Office (Montreal); pp. 64; 35c.

The Post-War Industrialization of China: H. D. Fong; (Planning Pamphlets, Nos. 12 and 13) National Planning Association (Washington, D.C.); pp. 92; 50c (U.S.A.).

Reprints from the University of Toronto Quarterly, Vol. xi, No. 3, April, 1942:

Germany as She Really Is: F. W. Foerster; pp. 6.

The Course of Canadian Democracy: D. G. Creighton; pp. 14.

Unpoetry — Poetry — Metapoetry: Reid MacCallum; pp. 11.

Glimpses of the University at Work

From 1907 Until the First World War (1): Sir Robert Falconer; pp. 13.

Music In Poetry: Northrop Frye; pp. 13.

TALKING UNION

All I Want, The Union Train, Get Thee Behind Me, Talking Union, Which Side Are You On?, The Union Maid.—Trade Union Songs by the Almanac Singers. 3 10" records in album . . . \$4.20 and shipped express collect. Order from The Canadian Forum Book Service.

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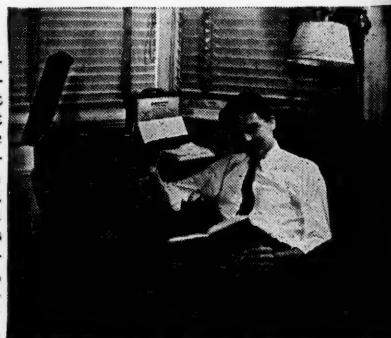
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